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President Zhelev Discusses National Assembly

AU0312205990 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 30 Nov 90 p 1

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Voyko Tanev in Sofia on 29 November—"Position of Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria Is Honorable"—first paragraph is TRUD introduction]

[Text] At the political consultations with the president an agreement has been reached to dissolve the parliament by the end of March and conduct new elections in May 1991. This was stated by President Zhelyu Zhelev to a representative of TRUD during the opening ceremony of the Cultural Section of the British Embassy in Sofia. What follows is a verbatim record of the conversation:

[Tanev] Mr. President, when it became known that Andrey Lukanov's government would resign many people exclaimed: "Relief at last!" Is this really so?

[Zhelev] It depends on what we need to catch our breath. If a resignation was needed—then it is so.

[Tanev] How do you assess the position of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] in connection with the crisis?

[Zhelev] As far as I know, the situation there really was dramatic. The Coordinating Council has split. They said that Krustyu Petkov had a heart attack. I think that all in all, the position of the KNSB was an honorable one (the conversation was held at 1700 [1500 GMT]). I think that the idea to collect signatures to dissolve the Grand National Assembly was not the most suitable one, which does not mean that it was dishonest. I think that the Grand National Assembly should continue. We must try to repair it again. The general position at today's consultations was that it must continue until March when it should dissolve itself and set general elections for May. I think that the following most important laws could be adopted by the end of the year: The laws of the land; privatization; investments; banks and banking; municipal elections territorial settlement of the country; and the law on elections.

An additional goal is to adopt the new constitution by the end of March. I think that this is possible. Afterward, the Grand National Assembly will dissolve itself and set the date of the new elections. By then, the elections for municipal organs should have already taken place. This should be somewhere before the end of February.

[Tanev] Excuse me for the indelicate question, but how do you feel at the moment?

[Zhelev] I think this question is too personal. Nevertheless, I feel as as if I had been between two realities. Outside, Sofia's center is full of people who chant and demand things. We had to make many detours before we arrived at the new office of the Cultural Section of the British Embassy in Sofia. I hope that all this is for the best, and that everything will end without violence, excesses, and blood.

Petur Beron Announces Intention To Resign

AU0312180890 Sofia BTA in English 1657 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Dec (BTA)—Mr. Petur Beron intends to resign his elective offices as chairman of the Coordinating Council of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and its floor leader in parliament, the press learnt at the regular SDS briefing today.

Mr. Beron revealed his intention late last night at a meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council with representatives of the regional councils. Mr. Beron, who took the lead of the SDS after Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev was elected president, said he wanted to return to his scientific pursuits. Mr. Beron is a prominent zoologist.

Mr. Beron stated his resignation from the opposition leadership in a composed and a considered speech, the SDS Coordinating Council Deputy Chairman Mr Filip Dimitrov told reporters. The SDS spokesman Mr. Mikhayl Nedelchev denied the allegations that Mr. Beron, a "charismatic leader and a wit" is stepping down because of materials containing disclosures of his "discrediting connections" under the communist regime.

Later on, however, a Coordinating Council member, who spoke on conditions of anonymity, told the BTA that the rumors about materials discrediting him by the way, such rumors were circulated before the general elections had been confirmed. "It is high time that we have a real opposition," the same high-ranking SDS official said. He named the Social Democrats leader Dr. Petur Dertliev as Mr. Beron's possible successor.

Will Mr. Beron's resignation be accepted and who will be the new opposition leader? This will become known on Thursday [6 December] when the SDS Coordinating Council is scheduled to meet. At present Mr. Beron is in Italy.

As from today, the SDS provides guarantees for the political demands of the striking students and will uphold them in parliament. Some time ago the Podkrepa Labor Confederation declared it would be the guarantor of the students' trade-union demands.

Todor Vulchev Mentioned as Prospective Premier

AU0312215890 Sofia BTA in English 2041 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—Prof. Todor Vulchev today held consultations with political leaders. He is rumored as one of the candidates for the vacant prime minister's post. So far, however, the professor has not been approached with an offer to take the job, National Television reported. Mr. Vulchev has not said what he thinks about it.

Prof. Todor Vulchev, an economist, advocated the advantages of the market economy under the totalitarian regime as well: That is how he was recommended in the main television evening newscast. Mr. Ginyo Ganev is

another name mentioned in connection with the premiership. A qualified lawyer, he is now deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly and takes active part in the political forces consultations. Mr. Ganev is member of no party but he is the leader of the Fatherland Union.

Progress of Political Consultations Reported

AU0312215990 Sofia BTA in English 2025 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, vice president of the parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces and participant in the drafting of an agreement between the political forces in Bulgaria, told the BTA he hoped that the draft will be ready by tomorrow.

Mr. Ludzhev said that the consultations are being held in a constructive spirit "but could have made faster progress". The participants had differences about the responsibility and the culprits for the present grave crisis.

Another sticking point is the property of the political parties. "The representatives of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party are not ready with their views on these matters," Mr. Ludzhev said.

Still, the part of the deal concerning the safeguards for the political forces and the citizens against persecution on the grounds of their political convictions was finalized today. The participants formulated suggestions to set up a special group of parliamentary committees to review the status and the activity of the security services.

Serious work has yet to start on the composition of the new cabinet, Mr. Ludzhev said. He said he believed that this is likely to be "something in-between a project-team and a caretaker government" but did not rule out the possibility of unconventional solutions advocated by the President of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev.

Mr. Ludzhev said that the BSP representatives at the talks insist on compliance with the agreement on a "neutral" prime minister. That is why they refused to consider other options suggested by some participants in the talks.

Former Deputy Premier Expelled From BSP

AU0312211890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Dec 90 p 1

[Darina Radeva report]

[Excerpts] The primary party organization of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Municipal Council in Gorna Malina, Sofia Oblast, feels that there is no justification for seeking party responsibility from Grigor Stoichkov. Moreover—it expresses gratitude to Stoichkov "for the efforts he has made and results he has achieved in the municipality's political, socioeconomic, and intellectual life."

The BSP All-Party Control Commission did not share this gratitude. [passage omitted]

The members of the commission unanimously voted to expel Grigor Stoichkov from the BSP. [passage omitted] Conflicting opinions were expressed about the work of Angel Solakov, who was first deputy minister and minister of internal affairs during the period of 1962-1971. Finally, with two opposing votes, the All-Party control commission decided there was no reason to reexamine Solakov's party status.

The commission is still studying tip-offs about 52 persons. The BSP Municipal Councils and Municipal Control Commissions in Kurdzhali, Mikhaylovgrad, Vratsa, Pleven Boboshevo, Pernik, Ruse, and other places delay their work without any justification. Some of the cases are being investigated by the working groups of the BSP All-Party Control Commission.

Podkrepa Leader Trenchev Discusses TU Activities

AU0312212290 Sofia BTA in English 2021 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—The Podkrepa Labor Confederation insists on a judicial inquiry into the flights of the Bulgarian Air Via Company whose planes left Sofia Airport without take-off clearance last Thursday Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, leader of Podkrepa, told journalists today.

The incident made quite a stir because it coincided with the general strike declared by Podkrepa and pilots and ground crews had stopped work. The same day in the evening Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov announced his resignation. On Wednesday Podkrepa had asked in advance for the lists of scheduled flights and passengers to prevent people connected with the Lukanov government from taking things out of the country.

Podkrepa has set up a working group to investigate the case. The outgoing government has not come up with an official stand. The Podkrepa Working Group tries to contact other countries to find out where the planes are, said Dr. Trenchev. Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Social Democrats, is to meet the minister of defense and demand an official explanation why the air-defense units failed to react.

Today Dr. Trenchev threatened with yet another Podkrepa strike if any repressive measures are taken against those participating in last week's strike. Dr. Trenchev is pressing for an express clause on this matter to be included in the agreement which the political forces are drafting now. The general strike declared by Podkrepa was decisive for Mr. Lukanov's resignation. Twelve economic managers have brought an action against workforces who went on strike. Actually, they have no right to sue the workers because this is against the collective industrial disputes settlement act.

The Podkrepa leader said the ongoing of the independent trade unions was unlawful. The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions is holding a sign-in for the dissolution of parliament and these are political ambitions, added Mr. Trenchev.

Independent TU Leader Petkov Interviewed

AU0312185590 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 29 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Professor Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, by Krasmir Tomov; place and date not given: "'Pregnant' With Revolution"; first paragraph is OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK introduction]

[Excerpts] The Bulgarian trade unions also became involved in the great controversy about the government crisis in our country. The Podkrepa Labor Confederation declared a political strike. The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, KNSB, organized a signature campaign demanding that parliament be dissolved and a so-called program-based government be appointed under the auspices of the president. Both trade union organizations obtained praise and reprimands. It seems that a revolution is ripening in our country which is deeply affected by an economic and social crisis. Unfortunately, Bulgarian revolutions have never left any pleasant memories.

[Tomov] Mr. Krustev, when I talked to you last summer you told me that you are refraining from active trade union actions, being afraid of causing a revolutionary situation in the country. You were accused of passivity for this response. Did you give up such misgivings lately?

[Petkov] Not as a trade unionist, but as a sociologist, I would say that such a situation already exists. We can even say that Bulgaria is "pregnant" with revolution, the same kind of revolution that happened in the other Eastern European countries. The intensification of the most varied activities of different organizations and social strata over the last weeks leads to revolution. There is nothing unusual about the fact that the trade unions are among the most decisive promoters of the revolution. The difference, compared with the situation in the summer of 1990, is that in those days we only had some vague misgivings about the working capacity of the Grand National Assembly, while today, following five months of fruitless debates, no one has any delusions about its inability to accomplish legislative work. [passage omitted]

[Tomov] Do you think that parliament is going to dissolve itself, even under strong pressure? Despite all its disunity, this institution already shows signs of corporate selfishness?

[Petkov] The only common trait which unites our country, which is torn apart by controversies today, is the negative attitude toward parliament. Only group interests are holding the divided parliment together. It is amazing to observe how these 400 people become unanimous whenever pressure is exerted upon them urging them to work. There are not many chances that this situation might improve, but some still exist. Therefore, we shall continue to collect signatures in favor of dissolving the parliament, but we are not closing the door to other actions. The strike organized by the Podkrepa Trade Union was not supported by the masses. Nevertheless, a psychological readiness for protest actions, which includes strikes exists. Such actions cannot be organized on the basis of instructions, but are motivated by socioeconomic reasons. It cannot be excluded that an incautious step by the government, or by the local authorities might cause an explosion. [passage omitted]

[Tomov] You were accused of treason and careerism. What is your reaction to such accusations?

[Petkov] Evidently, the people who demonstrated in front of our confederation's headquarters think that I have betrayed the party to which they belong. In my opinion, however, such moral and political criteria are not applicable to a trade union and its leader. We have different standards and criteria; we give priority to our trade union and to its members, and not to the strategic and tactical goals of any political party whatsoever. Everything else can be described as Bolshevism. I could resign tomorrow, but this would not change anything, because many things have changed over the last months. The KNSB has thoroughly changed and my person is of no essential importance in this respect.

[Tomov] How do you evaluate Prime Minister Lukanov's refusal to resign in this almost hopeless situation of his cabinet?

[Petkov] Andrey Lukanov wasted too much time in political struggles. Not only the opposition, but his own party was against him—regardless of the current support they are giving him. He is a great politician, but he sometimes overestimates his skill in playing the political game. Therefore, at a certain point he emerged as a lonely player against whom all the others play their cards. He will presumably lose. A dignified withdrawal from the political scene, as long as he has a chance to do so, is certainly likely to facilitate his comeback in the future, provided that he is really honest. Naturally, like all the others, he is marked by the past.

[Tomov] At a rally held in Blagoevgrad on 27 November 1990, Professor Krustyu Petkov declared that he would appeal for a general strike to begin as of Monday, 3 December, if the demands of the KNSB are not fulfilled.

Youth Organization Gives Up Socialism

AU0312164890 Sofia BTA in English 1424 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Dec (BTA)—No mention of "socialist ideas" is made in the last program declaration of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth (BDY), follower of the Dimitrov Young Communist League.

The declaration was adopted last night at the Second BDY Congress which ended that night. The follower of the Komsomol is trying to establish itself as a non-political organization with social functions. There was a

turbulent discussion on this issue. "If we declare ourselves non-political why don't we also say that we are a "non-apiarian organization", a delegate to the congress exclaimed yesterday. As a counter argument "MLADEZH", the BDY newspaper pointed a sociological enquiry, according to which two thirds of the young Bulgarians want to be members of an organization with no political accent but with social functions. As to when or who made this enquiry was not specified by the paper.

It is rather difficult for former Komsomol members to give up the words "socialism" and "socialist". There were quite a few statements made by delegates, stressing that the drop of "socialism" was not made out of ad hoc considerations. Others have also been "pro", but also out of the consideration that it will be much easier to establish contacts with other youth organizations without "socialism".

During the two congress days there were many disputes on the BDY property. The organization inherited the rich Komsomol, "the Communist Party younger brother" generously subsidized by the state. For almost a year nonofficial youth organizations, set up after November 19, 1989 have been trying to explain to the former Komsomol members that they were not the only youths in Bulgaria. The two youth "roundtables" in the spring did not come to anything. It was only a week ago that the BDY sat to negotiate again and receded: the property of the former Komsomol would be considered state property unless the opposite was proved by an enquiry commission of youth organizations. Though after some difficulties, the congress had approved yesterday this agreement. A decisive say had the words of BDY leader Rosen Karadimov, who being an independent M.P., sits in parliament next to the Socialists. "If the delegates do not admit this today, a nationalization tomorrow will sanction their behavior," Karadimov had said.

In the last months the BDY returned to the state a property to the amount of a 150 million leva and now possesses property to the amount of 68 million leva. State subsidies have been stopped. As many as 130 municipal executive councils have no money to pay the numerous people they have working on a full-time basis. A delegate to the congress has proposed that the BDY companies be sold to maintain the apparatus

The BDY has paid 2,300 leva to a BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council company as a rent for using a hall for its congress.

"Was that the congress that this organization needed now?" was the question asked by the BDY daily today in a critical report on the former Komsomol members congress.

Data on 'Bulgarian' SS-23 Missiles Revealed

AU0312135790 Sofia MLADEZH (DIALOG SUPPLEMENT) in Bulgarian 30 Nov 90 p 2

[Dimitur Dzhenev report: "For the First Time—Information About Bulgarian SS-23 Missiles"]

[Text] From the Press Center of the Ministry of National Defense we received information about the SS-23 operational-tactical missile complex. The complex joined the weapons of our country's Army in 1986. (It was purchased before the USSR-U.S. treaty on eliminating short and intermediate-range missiles was signed).

The maximum range of the SS-23 missiles is 400 km., which does not contradict the agreements on this type of missiles. Our complex is armed with conventional warheads. However, it is a reliable and unique means of striking enemy's targets within the aforementioned range. The SS-23 missiles have been purchased without nuclear warheads, and their equipment with nuclear warheads in the future has not been envisaged.

The position of the Ministry of National Defense is that against the background of the present international realities and the fact that our country is in the southern flank of the still existing Warsaw Pact, we should hardly begin to destroy this missile complex. It does not violate the balance of power in the Balkan peninsula and is a means of defense. In addition, significant financial means have been used for purchasing and mastering the complex.

It was stated on behalf of the press center that the time when the missile complex will be destroyed will surely come. Our Army has well-trained specialists, who have dismantled and eliminated similar complexes.

Turkish Attitude on Bulgarian Ethnic Issue Viewed

AU2711172590 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Nov 90 p 4

[Captain Ivan Genov article: "New 'Basket'"]

[Text] President Zhelev already has to his credit several appearances in authoritative international forums. One must note the fresh ideas he expressed on those occasions. In Paris he stressed a dangerous tendency: the possibility of replacing the abating East-West conflict with regional conflicts and confrontation based on obsolete historical stereotypes, renewed hostility of ethnic character, and territorial aspirations. The president shared his concern about the emergence of radical nationalism and chauvinism, especially when they become state policy or obtain state support. He made an exceptionally rational and topical proposal, namely, to incorporate the ethnic problems in the all-European process and discuss the issue of including the ethnic issues in a separate "basket."

The proposal has a purely Bulgarian background and conforms to the specific situation in the Balkans. Recently Bulgaria consistently proved that it bases its policy toward its neighbors exclusively on the principles of mutual understanding and readiness to cooperate. However, at the same time we must be concerned with the fact that fundamentalist Islamic tendencies, combined with the country's growing military power, are strengthening in neighboring Turkey. We must be concerned with the fact that slogans about "uniting all

external Turks in a state under the Turkish flag" are raised at the highest state and governmental level. Turkey maintains without any justification that two million Turks live in Bulgaria. One also must be concerned with the fact that an ethno-religious organization, whose existence contradicts the Constitution and international practice, exists and acts in Bulgaria and enjoys the rights of a political party.

Developing and strengthening democratic processes in Bulgaria will facilitate the expansion of Bulgaria's relations with its neighbors. The numerous legal parties and public organizations, produced by political pluralism, will provide the Bulgarian citizens with solid guarantees related to all rights and freedoms. However, why is it necessary to see those rights and freedoms being monopolized by self-isolating organizations, closed by the ethno- religious principle?

One cannot ignore Ankara's increased interest in the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. The ANATOLIA News Agency recently disseminated the statement of Medi Doganov, DPS leader, to the effect that the law adopted by the parliament which eliminated the Slavonic suffixes to the names of Bulgarian citizens was a "victory for the Turkish minority." The existence of a "Turkish minority" was not mentioned in any international treaty during Bulgaria's post-liberation history. Why now, when a turning point toward better Bulgarian-Turkish relations emerges, is a nonexistent and artificially inflamed problem brought to the foreground? What is even worse is the fact that this is done by the official news agency of the Republic of Turkey.

There are still many moot points in our relations with neighboring Turkey. However, they must not be resolved through direct or indirect attempts to interfere with internal affairs, but, as President Zhelev stressed in Paris, by strictly respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every country, and absolutely observing the basic human rights.

Foreign Minister Gotsev Confirms Gulf Committment

AU0312203690 Sofia BTA in English 1917 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—In a statement for the BTA Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, expressed gratitude for the prompt information made available to him by the U.S. Secretary of State Mr. James Baker. He described it as "a new expression of the strengthening confidence and expanding dialogue between our two countries."

The minister of foreign affairs had in mind the letter from the U.S. Secretary of State and the full text of the statement by the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, at a news conference on the Gulf crisis, held in Washington on November 30, 1990.

"We appreciate the position expressed by President Bush and the diplomatic efforts of the U.S. Government to find a peaceful political settlement of the Persian Gulf crisis," Mr. Lyuben Gotsev said. "In this spirit the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reacts positively to Mr. Baker's letter."

"As one of the countries which have been seriously affected by the conflict in the Persian Gulf, Bulgaria welcomes every step aimed at its settlement on the basis of the UN Security Council resolutions, including Resolution 678 of November 29, 1990. When Iraq invaded Kuwait Bulgaria condemned the aggression and the violation of international standards. We welcome the U.S. readiness to start a dialogue with Iraq and all diplomatic and political steps taken by other states with a view to preventing a military confrontation in the Persian Gulf, releasing all foreign nationals held unlawfully in Iraq and restoring the statehood of Kuwait," Mr. Gotsev said.

"In future Bulgaria will keep working together with the other states for a peaceful and just settlement of the Persian Gulf conflict."

Greek Prime Minister's Visit Postponed

AU0312202790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs announces that the Bulgarian and Greek sides have agreed to postpone the official visit of the Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis to Bulgaria, for the time being. The visit was originally scheduled for 6 and 7 December 1990.

At the same time a Greek Government spokesman pointed out that the Greek and Bulgarian Governments have agreed that the visit should take place at a later date.

French, Turkish Credits for Medical Supplies

AU0312202190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers has designated 17 million francs from a French credit granted to our country for the most urgent needs of our health protection sector.

Antibiotics, drugs for cardiac and vascular diseases, as well as for diabetics have already been ordered. Resources were also allocated for the purchase of drugs and equipment for the needs of dentistry and surgery. Aspirin for children and adults worth 2.9 francs will be provided.

In addition to this, $15 million in credit from Turkey will also be used for medical supplies. The delivery of drugs and raw materials for dentistry, and other medical supplies will be arranged on the occasion of the forthcoming visit of Turkish specialists to our country.

KDH Considers Local Elections Results

AU0212203490 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 27 Nov 90 p 2

[Unattributed report:"Standpoint of the Christian Democratic Movement"]

[Text] The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] considers the results of the free local elections to be a realistic projection of the current distribution of political forces and disposition of the population. These results provide our movement with adtlitional room for realization of its policy of service based on the keystones of Christianity. In practice, this means concern for the everyday needs of our citizens, and particularly of those who will be hit the hardest by the planned economic reform—laborers, senior citizens, sick people, students, young laborers, and large families. We express our thanks to all voters, who gave us their trust while realizing and accepting the burden of responsibility that we will carry precisely thanks to their support. The response to the voters' trust is our policy of patient everyday work, formation of an atmosphere of understanding and social peace needed for the realization of the significant economic changes as well as a change in our thinking.

Therefore, we appeal to the civic responsibility and courage of all people who so far have not taken a stand: Do finally realize your true power. For you are what it is all about, and you have the final say about what will happen to your village, town, community, and state. We appeal to people to work intently and patiently for the good of the society, nation, and state.

Nationalists Blame Moric for Electoral Failure

AU0312142790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Nov 90 p 3

[Report on statement issued by the Slovak National Party Democratic Platform on the results of the local elections]

[Text] The Slovak National Party's [SNS] failure—which it is possible to call a debacle—is the consequence of a political line long criticized by the overwhelming majority of SNS deputies. We must look for the reasons, first and foremost, in the long-term aimless orientation of part of the party leadership which in the person of its chairman—as the election results have indicated—represents an unacceptable political orientation for the overwhelming majority of Slovak citizens. It is one thing to excite the passions of a mobby—often—simple slogans, it is another to gain the majority of qualified voters onto the party's side. When a political leader does not pay attention to anything else except glorifying his own person and holding onto his position as chairman at any price—in addition, chasing the overwhelming part of the intelligentsia away from the SNS—the results cannot be any different from what they are.

CSKOS Holds Session To Discuss Legal Norms

Outline Reasons for Strike Alert

AU3011190790 Prague PRACE in Czech 28 Nov 90 pp 1,2

["(CKA)" and "(ZR)"-signed report: "Is There a Threat of a General Strike?"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday's extraordinary session of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions [CSKOS] General Council had only one point on its agenda—a point of view apropos the Federal Assembly's debates on the draft amendment to the labor code, the draft law on collective bargaining, and other legal norms. Because there is a grave danger that the trade unions' rights will be considerably curtailed by these laws—and thus their opportunity to defend employees' interests—the General Council decided that at 1200 [1100 GMT] today all trade unions affiliated in CSKOS will go on strike alert.

This step is intended to support the demands contained in the appeal to CSFR Federal Assembly deputies entitled "In Support of Trade Union Rights" which was also approved at yesterday's session. The appeal states the following:

"Debates on several important draft laws concerning the vital interests of all working people will soon come to a head in the CSFR Federal Assembly. The submitted drafts are the result of complicated negotiations and compromises involving the governments, the trade unions, and employers' organizations. They are proof that a strategy of dialogue is the way to achieve social consensus.

"While tne draft law on collective bargaining was finalized and improved during discussions in Federal Assembly committees, suggestions unacceptable to the trade unions were introduced in some parliamentary committees during the discussions on the amendment to the labor code. In this connection, we recall that when these regulations were being prepared, the trade unions accepted numerous compromise solutions! We cannot, however, retreat any further.

"These suggestions involve maintaining the right of employees to participate in the management and development of their enterprise. The new, independent trade unions do not want to control production or replace the economic management. They perceive their participation as the right to receive undistorted information from management about the situation in and the prospects for the enterprise and the right to hold consultations about fundamental issues associated with the economy and the development of the enterprise. Issues such as employment, requalification, and the employees' social prospects are involved.

"In harmony with the resolution adopted at this year's all-union congress, we insist upon the preservation of fundamental trade union rights which are regulated at present by law No. 37/1959 on factory committees. We understand, however, the need to free this law from anachronistic political formulations. Therefore, we agree

with the transplanting of the matter-of-fact contents of the aforementioned law directly into the labor code.

"During the transition period of our economy's radical changes, we consider it absolutely necessary to preserve the trade unions' right to make joint decisions in delegating employees and in canceling contracts. It is also necessary to maintain an increased legal protection for trade union functionaries. The trade unions are an organized force capable of alleviating the negative impacts of economic reform and, therefore, they must have legal instruments and guarantees for their activity. At the same time, we agree with the demand that the right of trade union organs to express their disagreement with the aforementioned measures regarding employees be bound within a certain time limit. We consider, however, the proposed 15-day time limit to be inadequately short.

"The draft constitutional documents on citizens' rights and liberties will come up on the CSFR Federal Assembly's agenda in the next few days. We express our conviction that the deputies will approach the formulation of citizens' socioeconomic rights in this historic document in harmony with international legal norms as an inseparable element of human rights. This involves, in particular, the right to work, the right to free health care and education, the right to social security, and also trade union rights.

"We remind Federal Assembly deputies that our future is conditional upon an agreement being reached among the decisive social forces. The trade unions, without a doubt, belong to these forces."

Beginning at noon today the strike committee will assume control of the confederation for a transitional period. At yesterday's CSKOS General Council session, Vladimir Zizka, chairman of the chemical industry's trade union, was elected head of this committee.

When yesterday's meeting came to an end we asked him the following question: Under what circumstances would the strike alert turn into a strike?

He replied: First and foremost, we would not like it at all if the strike alert were to turn into a general strike. If we resort to pressure in the form of a strike, it will be a strike across the board by which we would demonstrate our strength, but not threaten our economy. Our endeavor will be to use a form of strike action which will convince parliament that the trade unions carry some weight. All of this, however, will only be in an extreme case. We resolutely do not want a general strike to take place.

Reach Agreement To Suspend Alert

AU0312165790 Prague CTK in English 1404 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 29 (CTK)—Representatives of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions and three members of the Civic Forum Parliamentary Club reached an agreement this morning aimed at suspending the strike alert declared by the trade unions.

It is to prevent the Federal Assembly (parliament) deputies from discussing the labor code amendment under pressure, newsmen were told by Ladislav Vrchovsky, member of the Civic Forum Parliamentary Club.

On the basis of this agreement the trade unions should recall the strike alert by a press release on Saturday or Monday [1 or 3 December] at the latest.

The trade unions, which had declared the strike alert in protest at the government's dropping of a provision on trade union co-management from draft legislation which is now to be debated by parliamentary committees, today specified their demands to journalists.

In a document circulated at a press conference they listed three points of their policy on the participation of employees in the management and development of enterprises. They demand the right to undistorted information on the state and prospects of enterprises and the management's intentions, the right to be consulted on basic matters related to the economy and development of enterprises, especially job security, retraining, and the prospects of employees, and finally co-decision-making on employment plans, retraining programs, use of enterprise resources and availability of clear information from bulletins, negotiations, etc.

Chairman of the Trade Union Strike Committee Vladimir Zizka said that the trade unions fully support economic reform but demand that it takes into consideration the social aspects and "does not become a reform without people".

Spokesman Cites President's Stand on Power Debate

LD0312203290 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Excerpt] The arguments about powers between the Czech and Slovak Republics cannot be allowed to continue forever because it would probably mean a catastrophe for our economic reform, international standing, and the state on the whole. These words were used by Michal Zantovsky to express the president's stand on the problem of the division of powers.

Answering a question on whether the Castle is aware of General Vacek's mission to Iraq, Michal Zantovsky said that he had heard about it from mass media today, and, therefore, he cannot give any details about it. [passage omitted]

Integration Party Holds Meeting; Picks Chairman

LD0112210790 Prague CTK in English 1933 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Prague, Dec 1 (CTK)—Offering of help in overcoming social problems facing ill people, families with several children and pensioners in the transition to a market economy are major tasks of the Czechoslovak Party of Integration which held its constituent conference at Havirov, North Moravia, today.

The party is headquartered in Havirov. The conference elected Miroslav Mecek its chairman.

Bill on Debentures Discussed in Parliament

AU3011084590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Nov 90 pp 1,16

["jop"-signed report: "Start of the Parliament Marathon"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Yesterday afternoon, the ninth joint session of both chambers began with a half-hour delay. After the agenda was approved, CSFR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus gave reasons for the government bill on debentures. He delimited the effect of the law and included a definition of the debenture. He said that in preparing the bill the present regulations and legal norms in Austria and Germany were considered as well as recommendations by IMF and World Bank experts. He drew the attention of the deputies to the fact that the legal norm regulating dealing in securities will be included in the law on stock exchange, the draft of which should be submitted to the Federal Government in the near future.

He also spoke about the suggestions and comments from Federal Assembly committees. He rejected three fundamental comments and accepted one. He criticized the efforts by the deputies to stabilize the conditions for issuing the debentures, stating that the recent great changes in interest rates will force changes in these conditions. He did not recommend the proposal not to impose any limits to the firm interest rates received on profits from employee obligations because, particularly in the transitional period, the increase of revenues for the employees would not be appropriate. Another amending proposal (to establish the option of allowing the owner of employee shares to buy shares offered by the same issuer) was also described as inappropriate by Klaus, because the issuer would not have any choice in the sale. The fourth fundamental comment—to augment fines for the unauthorized issue of debentures—was accepted.

Chambers' Joint Reporters J. Schneider and M. Kurtak summed up the suggestions and comments from the committees and in some articles offered alternative solutions. The deputies approved the bill on debentures with comments. Late in the afternoon a discussion began of the amendment to the education law.

Cabinet Discusses Monetary, Defense Issues

LD0312173790 Prague CTK in English 1512 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Prague, 3 Dec (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government dealt today with a blueprint for next year's monetary policy which is to continue to be aimed at reducing the demand for money and thus levelling the disproportion between supply and demand.

The government intends to carry on its policy of restricted credits, increased interest rates and restricted availability of foreign currency to achieve this aim.

The cabinet has taken a stand on a draft law on the armed forces general inspectorate which is to be a specialized body of the parliament supervising the armed forces. The cabinet recommended that the relation of the general inspector to the president and the Federal Assembly Presidium should be defined.

The minister of strategic planning has been requested to found a council for the introduction of information systems, its immediate tasks being the development of public communication and data networks, their digitization, cable television distribution and extension of information services. A data network compatible with international information systems should be set up as soon as possible.

The cabinet approved a draft order on the issuance of obligations to compensate people who suffered under the communist regime and have been rehabilitated. The total compensation is estimated at up to 5,000 million crowns and 2,000 million of this should be covered by the obligations repayable within ten years.

Pithart Calls for Sound Budgets From Republics

LD0212223190 Prague CTK in English 2018 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 2 (CTK)—Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart said on television tonight that convincing evidence of the soundness of the budgets of Czechoslovakia and the Czech and Slovak Republics must be presented to International Monetary Fund (IMF) experts by Tuesday so that IMF and all world banks be inclined to give financial aid to Czechoslovakia.

Speaking about the cut in the Czech budget's surplus from 5,800 million crowns to a mere 1,100 million after the Wednesday discussions of the three finance ministers, Pithart said this was necessary because the original budget was drafted according to which later proved erroneous.

According to Pithart, it is indifferent from the IMF point of view whether the financial surplus is in the republics or in the federation. On the contrary, the majority of it being in the federation is a more positive sign from the point of view of the fund.

Returning to the "problematic" television appearance by Federal Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy last week in which he criticized the Slovak political representation for handling the issue of gas and oil pipelines, by which he allegedly breached a gentleman's agreement which was allegedly struck already at the talks on division of powers at Trencianske Teplice, West Slovakia, in August, Pithart said no such agreement existed and therefore, Dlouhy had nothing to violate.

In reference to the issue of the pipelines, the prime minister said that the part of the pipelines running across Slovakia is longer than that in the Czech lands, there are more pumping stations in Slovakia and a numerically stronger staff. The Czech side is by no means opposed to these facts to be taken into consideration in dividing revenues from the tunrover and profit tax. Neither is it opposed to the seat of the organization (probably a joint-stock company operating both the oil and gas

pipelines) to be in Slovakia. But the Czech side is opposed to the division of the pipelines into two separate parts, Czech and Slovak, as the Slovak side wanted, since this would be hardly comprehensible for the world.

Public Polled on Vacek as Defense Minister

LD3011214190 Prague CTK in English 1751 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 30 (CTK)—In a public opinion poll conducted recently on the October 17 dismissal of Defence Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek, 21 per cent of a total of 717 Czech and Slovak respondents answered he should have remained in the post as he understood the Army.

26 per cent said rather yes, 19 per cent rather no, 13 per cent gave a resolute negative answer and 21 per cent did not know. Opinions in the national republics considerably differed. In the Czech Republic 42 per cent of respondents thought he should have remained defence minister and 37 per cent said no. In the Slovak Republic 59 per cent said yes and 19 per cent no.

Asked whether they thought that the dismissal had been clearly explained, nine per cent of the polled gave a resolute positive answer, 14 rather yes, 32 rather no, 30 gave a resolute negative answer and 16 per cent did not know.

Czech Government 27 Nov Session Reported

AU0312130190

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 28 November on page 4, under the headline "Czech Government; New Universities and Joint Stock Companies," publishes an "st"-signed 450-word report on yesterday's (27 November) session of the government of the Czech Republic. According to the report, the Czech Government approved the foundation of five new universities—Silesian University in Opava, South Bohemian University in Ceske Budejovice, West Bohemian University in Plzen, J.E. Purkyne University in Usti nad Labem, and Ostrava University in Ostrava.

Also, the report reads, the government approved the foundation of joint stock companies—Chandeliers Kamenicky Senov, Textilana Liberec, Footwear Industry Svit, Footwear Retail Zlin, Moravia Glass Kyjov, and Costume Jewelry Jablonec nad Nisou.

Parliament Approves Power-Sharing Legislation

AU0312164190 Prague CTK in English 2107 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Prague, 29 Nov (CTK)—The Czech parliament today approved draft legislation on the division of powers between the federal authorities and the two constituent republics, Czech and Slovak.

The draft is based on an agreement reached by the prime ministers of the three governments and representatives of the Czech and Slovak parliaments on November 13, after three months of talks.

Its philosophy is that the two constituent republics must be responsible for their economic development and the federation must create conditions for a single market, Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart said introducing the law to the parliament. In comparison with former legislation on the Czechoslovak federation it significantly extends the powers of the republics.

Reporter Ivo Svoboda said that the legislation is to serve in the short term before [a] new constitution is adopted.

The draft is now to be presented to the Federal Assembly (parliament).

Czech Government Approves 1991 Draft Budget

LD3011224790 Prague CTK in English 2140 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 30 (CTK)—The Czech Government today approved the draft budget of the Czech Republic for 1991 envisaging revenues of 238,700 million crowns and expenditures of 237,600 million crowns, with a surplus of 1,100 million crowns.

The original draft was adjusted to respect the agreement of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak prime ministers of November 27.

'Action Ability' of Civic Forum Highlighted

LD0112213890 Prague CTK in English 2001 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—Chairman of the Civic Forum (OF), the strongest political force in the Czech lands, said at a meeting of district Civic Forums of Moravia and Silesia at Zlin, south Moravia, today that any activity of the forum must be done for the end of strengthening the movement's action ability.

He said that to live from the past does not suffice any longer. Nothing changes in the OF policy regarding resentment against the former communist regime. But what now matters most is unity for post-revolutionary everyday life, Klaus stressed.

According to him, the idea of an umbrella political movement for all currents of opinion is not viable. It is rather burdensome as it reduces action-capability. Views of political centre are not good either since they are rather confusing for people.

Participants in the meeting demanded creation of a right-wing party of a clear political orientation.

Pithart Describes Results of Bratislava Talks

LD3011232990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Milan Cervenka; in Prague; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Cervenka] You are returning from Bratislava from your talks with Mr. Meciar. What was the trip like and what were the results?

[Pithart] These were routine meetings where we agreed that we will talk openly, as was the case in Bratislava today. We told each other that, perhaps, we should not be starting constitutional, philosophical, or psychological deliberations about what is primary or secondary, where the original sovereignty is, and so on. All these are categories which complicate our problems.

In other words, we have agreed on this. I told Mr. Meciar that we should first solve one problem and then start on the next. We should be a bit more reticent. If we have one problem to deal with, we should not start tackling another one. I think that this request was understood.

Slovaks Sharply Criticize Economy Minister Dlouhy

Ministers Speak Out at News Conference

AU0312163790 Prague CTK in English 1527 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava, 29 Nov (CTK)—Two Slovak ministers today sharply criticized Czechoslovak Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy for his statement on television last night about the Slovak Government, including its Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, that their "political and personal ambitions have begun to prevail over economic ones".

Dlouhy commented on his unsuccessful talks with his Czech and Slovak colleagues on oil and gas pipelines held on the same day at which the Slovak side insisted on their division into two separate parts operated by two separate companies, Czech and Slovak.

Slovak Industry Minister Jan Holcik described Dlouhy's statements as "irresponsible". Speaking at a press conference, Holcik accused the federal minister of seeking centralization which was characteristic of the former communist regime. He maintained that at recent talks of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak prime ministers on the division of powers between the federation and the national republics it was agreed that the pipelines will be within the republics' jurisdiction and therefore Minister Dlouhy "encroaches by his initiative (to establish one company operating the transit pipelines which carry gas and oil from the USSR to Europe) upon this jurisdiction".

Slovak Economy Minister Jozef Belcak, also present at the press conference, accused Vladimir Dlouhy of "having failed to honor the gentleman's agreement concerning public information on further course and particular alternatives" in matters of common interest.

According to Belcak a federal minister, being a constitutional official, has no right to criticize members of the Slovak Government and its prime minister who were appointed by the Slovak National Council (parliament) which gave it its confidence."

The strongest political force in the Slovak parliament, Public Against Violence (VPN), today said Dlouhy's statement was tantamount to a "breach of the fundamental principles of coalition partner cooperation." The Slovak movement is a coalition partner in the Federal Government of the Civic Forum which nominated Dlouhy to the government.

The VPN Coordinating Center said that Dlouhy "has no right to appeal to the Slovak political representation to change their stand on the basis of his personal opinion" and therefore views his television appearance as "politically erroneous."

According to the VPN leading body, the "Slovak Government headed by Prime Minister Meciar enjoys full support of the Public Against Violence in the question of amendments to the law on Czechoslovak federation and division of powers between the republics and the federation, including the oil and gas pipelines."

A stand on the controversy was also formulated today by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, currently visiting east Slovakia. "Economists of the Federal Government show how the possible division (of the pipelines) would be impractical, how much it would cost, and that no one would profit from it. They do not say so because they want to oppress the Slovaks but because as they have calculated this would be disadvantageous. Slovak ministers may be of a different view, they have probably made other calculations," the president said.

Government Protests Dlouhy's TV Speech

AU0312164790 Prague CTK in English 2025 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava, 29 Nov (CTK)—The Slovak Government Presidium has written to the Czechoslovak Government that if Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy spoke for the whole Federal Government on the television last night it "will have to take a stand and take necessary steps".

In a two-paragraph letter made available to CTK today the Slovak Government Presidium asked the Federal Government Presidium whether the minister spoke for himself or expressed the opinion of the government and whether the Czechoslovak Government identified itself with his statement.

After his failure to persuade Slovak partners that the Czechoslovak sections of the pipelines carrying Soviet oil and gas to Western and Southern Europe should

remain under the control of one company Dlouhy said yesterday that in some Slovak politicians "political and personal ambitions have begun to prevail over economic ones" and called this "irresponsible conduct."

The Slovak Government did not say what steps it would take.

Keltosova Criticizes Speech

AU0312163990 Prague CTK in English 2131 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava, 29 Nov (CTK)—Deputy Chairperson of the Slovak Parliament Olga Keltosova said today that Wednesday's speech [28 November] of Czechoslovak Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy "causes and unnecessarily increases distrust of the Slovak population in the Federal Government".

Speaking in the polemics touched off by yesterday's criticism of Slovak ministers by Dlouhy over talks on oil and gas pipelines she argued against some of Dlouhy's statements saying that "it is more than clear that the present misunderstandings arise over exclusively economic problems".

She said that Dlouhy had cast doubts on the agreements of the three governments on the division of powers in the energy industry and questioned the qualifications of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. Meciar and his ministers represent the justified interests of Slovakia in a highly qualified way, she pointed out.

Havel Attends Slovak Parliament, Answers Questions

LD0112033590 Prague CTK in English 1929 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 30 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel, spending the second day in Slovakia, told the Slovak parliament in a question-and-answer session today that according to various signals relations between the Slovak and Czech nations are better than media assessments might suggest.

Asked about the attitude of the Czech nation to the Slovaks Havel characterized recent sentiments among the Czech population as wondering why the Slovaks would like to divide something all the time. I would not blame this on Czech separatism because it has no tradition in Bohemia and is virtually nonexistent, Havel said.

He praised the Slovak National Council (parliament) for resisting pressures and passing a law on the Slovak language "which is in an acceptable zone measured by international standards". He thought that more uproar was caused in Bratislava over the issue of language legislation than it deserved. (The parliament passed a law declaring Slovak the state language in this part of Czechoslovakia and enabling minorities to use their own languages in areas where they make up at least 20 per cent of the population.)

According to Havel, the general political mood in Czechoslovakia is marked by fatigue, uncertainty about the future and a feeling of chaos. He spoke about "a certain amount of resentment" against former dissidents who are now in the state leadership. He did not regard it as a major problem because what is important is the political competence of these people and not their dissident past.

Speaking about the bill of basic rights and freedoms now being discussed he said there were two versions, a Slovak and a Czech one, and they differed mainly in emphasis on social guarantees which was greater in the Slovak version.

He said that when the two republics, Czech and Slovak, draft their constitutions they should do so simultaneously so that they really fit well with one another.

Meciar Insists No Resignation Pressure

LD0112213690 Prague CTK in English 1931 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 1 (CTK)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told journalists here today that his resignation was not sought during his talks in Prague this week, but admitted he had been informed that the view circulated in the Czechoslovak capital that it would be good if he did not stand at the head of the Slovak Government.

Meciar participated on Tuesday together with the Czechoslovak and Czech prime ministers in a debate in Prague on the three budgets. According to him, the situation at the talks was quite surprising because after his appearance, representatives of the Federal and Czech Governments engaged in intensive discussion. (The meeting of the prime ministers and the following talks of finance ministers ran into difficulties over the division of revenues from the turnover and profit taxes between the Federal, Czech and Slovak budget.

"No one can say that we would have defended something that is not true or that is unjust. I think we displayed more federal feeling than could have been expected from us," Meciar said.

Commenting on the situation that has developed around the talks on the oil and gas pipelines, which the Slovak Government wanted to divide into two separate parts, Czech and Slovak, which would be managed by two separate companies, Meciar said that the question was given great attention during yesterday's talks with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel here, and stressed that the question of revenues has been resolved temporarily for one year.

In connection with the pipeline, Meciar said that over the past 20 years not a sole crown was invested into the pipes running across a grain-growing region in South Slovakia. If the pipes start to leak, drinkable water will be polluted and a damage of 24 million crowns will be inflicted.

Police in Slovakia Under Government's Control

AU0412113590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Nov 90 p 2

["NO"-signed report: "Slovak Republic Minister of Interior: The Police Will Be National"]

[Text] Bratislava— Yesterday we learned that, in connection with the division of powers [between the federation and the republics], the police will be under the control of the republican ministries of interior as of next year. Slovak Republic Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner announced that police members in Slovakia will be wearing the Slovak state emblem on the left sleeve. The Slovak Republic Ministry of Interior is also engaged in negotiations with the private Civil Security Service to ensure that the equipment of members of this service is adequate for their mission to protect hotels and other facilities.

Meciar Holds Debate With Hungarian Journalists

AU0412113190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Nov 90 p 2

[Jana Janku report: "Language Must Not Be a Divisive Issue; Hungarian Journalists Are Visiting Southern Slovakia"]

[Excerpts] "Although we are being portrayed as the capital of unrest and Slovak-Hungarian intolerance, we do not feel here even an indication of anti-Hungarian or anti-Slovak sentiments." This was how Stefan Pasztor, the mayor of Komarno, introduced a group of about 20 Hungarian journalists, including editors of the well-known Panorama television program, to the situation in the city.

The journalists came to southern Slovakia for a two-day visit at the invitation of the Slovak Republic Government Office to become familiar with Hungarian-Slovak relations directly on the spot. [passage omitted]

Late in the evening the journalists met with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Deputy Prime Minister Gabor Zaszlos. Jeno Boros, the Hungarian general consul in Bratislava, was also present. In his address the prime minister spoke about past wrongs and cases of injustice which to this day influence the awareness of both nations. He described as one of these wrongs—a fact which Mr. Sugar, editor of the Panorama program, appreciated in the subsequent debate—the unjust foisting of collective guilt on members of the Hungarian minority after World War II and their being labeled as war criminals. The prime minister went on to say that when our government recently pondered the issue of with whom to establish contacts, it was no coincidence that, apart from Poland, it was Hungary which was considered first. It is precisely at times of growing nationalism, which usually generates something evil, that questions of good coexistence assume importance. Good coexistence is all the more important as, according to Mr. Meciar's words, many unnecessary instances of misunderstanding have recently been caused by the unobjective information of Hungarian mass media about the life of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. Both countries are currently linked by economic problems and only life itself will show the areas in which there is need for cooperation. Ideology cannot speed this up but, at the very least, it should not be an obstacle [to cooperation]. Prime Minister Meciar also stressed, among other things, that it is the state's task to look after all citizens, including minorities. The mass media can be of great help in this respect. "I do not think that you will leave here having assimilated my views and neither shall I adopt your views. But let us at least listen to one another." Yesterday's meeting, which will have a sequel today in the form of a [Meciar] debate with other foreign journalists from Europe, was one of the ways of engaging in useful dialogue. Different languages are not an obstacle to understanding.

Anti-Chemical Unit 'Ready To Leave' for Gulf

LD0312185290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Now, together with Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky, we will visit the Military Pedagogical Institute of Higher Education in Bratislava. [passage omitted]

Editor Josef Buransky took advantage of the defense minister's presence to interview him:

[Begin recording] [Buransky] Mr. Dobrovsky, at what stage is the preparation of the anti-chemical defense unit which is to be deployed in Saudi Arabia, and when will the unit leave?

[Dobrovsky, in Czech] This anti-chemical defense unit, whose mission is solely humanitarian, is ready to leave. Its departure depends on when we receive information about the plane that will provide transportation to Saudi Arabia. The Czechoslovak Army does not have any aircraft of a type that could provide transportation for this unit with all of its equipment, and that is why we have asked the United States to help us. As soon as we get this information, the unit will board the plane at Ruzyne Airport and fly to Saudi Arabia.

[Buransky] In this connection, a question comes to mind: Is there a possibility that the Czechoslovak Army soldiers could join UN units—I mean in a greater number?

[Dobrovsky] Yes, we are training a unit, the size of which is approximately that of a battalion, which should be ready to be used as a unit of the UN peace corps. This unit is being trained, is stationed in Cesky Krumlov [southern Bohemia]. As soon as its training is completed, it will be offered for use by the United Nations. [end recording]

Vacek To Lead 'Goodwill' Delegation to Iraq

LD0312180490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak goodwill mission led by Army General Miroslav Vacek will travel to Iraq soon.

This is a personal initiative, which is guided by the desire to contribute to the return of approximately 40 of our citizens currently in Baghdad.

The Federal Government, which joined the embargo adopted by the UN Security Council, does not contribute to organizational or other type of provision of the trip. Besides Miroslav Vacek, those who are participating in the mission are: Jiri Cerny, Milan Cic, Miroslav Grebenicek, Michael Kocab, (Frantisek Langer), and (Ivan Volny) for the Federal Red Cross Committee. Through the mission to Iraq, the Red Cross is sending 1.5 tonnes of medicine to the Iraqi Red Crescent as humanitarian assistance.

'Goodwill Mission' Leaves for Baghdad

LD0412095790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0900 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Excerpt] The Czechoslovak goodwill mission—seeking to negotiate with the Iraqi leadership the release of 40 Czechoslovak citizens—flew to Baghdad this morning. Its head, General Miroslav Vacek [former defense minister], stated that the mission is expected in Iraq today. There is a possibility that the group will also meet President Saddam Husayn. Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat has expressed his interest in meeting our delegation. Miroslav Vacek stressed that this is a private initiative. [passage omitted]

Border Opening Talks With Poland at 'Impasse'

LD3011205190 Prague CTK in English 1835 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 30 (CTK)—Negotiations on the opening of the Czechoslovak-Polish borders have reached an impasse and until that changes it is not possible to liberalise travel regulations, said Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus at a Civic Forum press conference today.

Travel by Poles to Czechoslovakia has been restricted due to fears that the current rate of exchange between the Polish zloty and the Czechoslovak crown will allow Poles to buy up goods needed by people in Czechoslovakia.

Asked about statements made by some Czechoslovak representatives to the effect that the borders could be opened from January 1, 1991, Klaus said they were "preliminary."

Dubcek Comments on Visits to Britain, Ireland

AU0412144090 Prague CTK in English 1823 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek told CTK here today that during all his talks in Britain and Ireland which he visited last week, all-round expansion of relations was discussed, especially in the economy, but also in culture which are lagging far behind possibilities.

In Britain, Dubcek attended the 36th NATO annual session. He said he spoke at all his meetings in London and Dublin about formation of new legislation in Czechoslovakia, also in connection with the country's effort at admission as a regular member of the Council of Europe. These talks also contributed to the fact that the admission is to take place at the beginning of next year.

Asked why he conducted talks with representatives of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions last weekend, before his departure for London, and again this weekend, Dubcek said he takes the view that working people should have the right to co-participate in the management of enterprises in the period of transition to market economy and that this right must be exercised. He said he did not deem it reasonable that this right is left out of the bill on amendments to the labor code though agreement had been reached on it during tripartite talks between the government, employers, and trade unions. The omission of this right led the trade union confederation to declaring a strike alert last week.

Asked what he thinks about Czechoslovak Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy's statement on television following failure of talks on the future of the Czechoslovak gas and oil transit pipelines (the Slovak side demanded their division into two separate parts) last week, in which he sharply criticized the Slovak representation, including Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Dubcek replied that in his view, Dlouhy overstepped his power and therefore he stands on Meciar's side.

Joint Soviet Relations Discussed 28-29 Nov

LD0312234890 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Recently, a new agreement was reached between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minster Jozsef Antall to regulate Hungarian-Soviet relations. It was announced today on the Bem embankment that experts were already working on the agreement. Experts from the Hungarian and the Soviet foreign ministries held discussions on 28 and 29 November in Budapest, Foreign Affairs spokesman Istvan Hermann announced. These talks were convened on the basis of the separate discussion of the two countries' prime ministers at the Paris summit meeting. At the meeting, the sides agreed on the schedule for working out a new agreement to replace the outdated Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Agreement. [passage omitted]

Borrowing Requirements, Soviet Debt Reported

LD0312185490 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 3 (MTI)—Hungary's current account deficit will be 1,200 million USD [U.S. dollars] in 1991, meaning the country will need a total of 4,500 million USD from external sources, Peter Kiraly, state secretary of finance, said some days ago when he outlined the draft state budget for 1991.

In an interview with MTI, Frigyes Harshegyi, vice-president of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH), said he felt Hungary could get away with a minimum of about 3,600 million USD. Explaining his reasoning, Harshegyi said Hungary's credit repayment obligations would work out to 2,400 million USD, interest repayments account for 1,200 million USD, while the country's current account deficit would also be 1,200 million USD. The vice-president said this amount could be raised from external sources. The NBH forecasts that Hungary could get access to 1,100 million USD through bond issues next year. The central bank also reckons with the possibility of taking out freely-usable bank loans worth a total of 500-600 million USD. Hungary has a number of agreements with international financial institutions, including the IMF, the World Bank, the EC and the Japanese export-import bank. About 800 million USD can already be taken for granted from these institutions. From such sources, Hungary can count on the involvement of about 1,000 million USD of working capital, Harshegyi said.

Considering all this, raising 3,600 million USD from external sources would seem feasible. Since Hungary wishes to boost its financial reserves, the country's borrowing requirement could be higher, and might total 4,500 million USD. If the planned three-year agreement with the IMF is reached and further agreements are concluded with the World Bank, it is possible this amount could also be raised. The idea is that Hungary would be granted more than 500 million USD under these agreements.

Although the country's financing seems to be guaranteed for next year as a whole, there might be bottleneck periods, for instance the beginning of the year, when the switchover to dollar accounting in Hungarian-Soviet trade may entail incalculable consequences.

It is crucial to Hungarian-Soviet relations as to how the Soviet Union is to repay its 1,000-million-dollar debt accumulated in trade with Hungary over the past two years, Harshegyi said. The Soviet Union seeks to repay the debt in five years, while Hungary would need it immediately, he added.

Minister of Finance Ferenc Rabar proposed to the EC delegation negotiating in Budapest last week that the EC should take over the debt and help collect it. Harshegyi said that further talks would be required on this issue. He held it conceivable for Hungary to raise another credit line from the comunity which would be covered by its outstanding debts towards the Soviet Union.

Romanian Ambassador Queried on Alleged Slanders

AU0312133290 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Nov 90 p 2

[Interview with Romanian Ambassador Simion Pop by Csilla Medgyesi; place and date not given: "The Ambassador Does Not Criticize, He Merely Expresses His Opinion"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] National Assembly Deputy Chairman Matyas Szuros recently mentioned in MAGYAR HIRLAP that the Romanian ambassador to Budapest had criticized—or even attacked—President Goncz and Prime Minsiter Antall in an interview to a Romanian newspaper. For objectivity's sake, we asked Simion Pop to tell us his side of the story.

[Pop] First, I would like to thank MAGYAR HIRLAP for letting me express my point of view. It is a fundamental principle that a civilized press should not present things in a one-sided way, but collect information from firsthand sources. In other words, the person who has been mentioned should also be allowed to express his opinion.

I bitterly acknowledged the commentaries made by NEPSZABADSAG, MAGYAR HIRLAP, and MAGYAR NEMZET in relation to my interview with the Romanian newspaper TINERETUL LIBER; in fact, these commentaries appeared before the publication of all three parts of my interview. I find it regrettable that the opinion voiced by Matyas Szuros in MAGYAR HIRLAP was not based on the contents of my press statement, but on the aforementioned commentaries. That is not the same thing.

I would not like to start arguing with Hungarian officials, or with newspapers; nevertheless, I have to say that I think it is incorrect practice to quote out of context, and to comment on certain sentences without taking the whole statement into account. Indeed, this practice leads to misunderstandings, one-sided reports, and distortions, which is exactly what happened in this case. I do not think that anybody would want this to happen.

How could I possibly criticize or attack President Goncz, whom I consider to be an honest and humanist man, and whom I know very well? Furthermore, how could I possibly criticize Prime Minister Antall, when I have the greatest respect and esteem for both these men, something of which they are both aware?

[Medgyesi] Let us perhaps turn to the issue originally mentioned by Matyas Szuros, who, for a long time, was a practicing diplomat himself. Szuros said that your statement violated diplomatic rules of conduct.

[Pop] I have to admit that I am not a diplomat by vocation, but I do not think that this is such a disgrace. I may be an "amateur," but I have not violated the so-called diplomatic rules of conduct, nor will I violate them in the future. What does "diplomatic rules of conduct" mean, anyway? I think that it means that diplomats should behave in civilized way in every situation, and they should give objective information about the life of the country in which they are working.

I hold Matyas Szuros in great esteem; I would not dare to let myself start arguing with him, particularly because it was to him that I presented my credentials in March 1990, when he was still acting president of the Republic. I have great respect for Szuros, and perhaps he knows me a little bit on the basis of our meetings. I do not think that he can be convinced of what he is saying, namely that I criticized, or—heaven forbid—attacked Hungary's leaders.

At the same time, I have to note that as an ambassador, and as Romania's representative in Hungary, I have the right to express my opinion, with which others can agree or disagree. Similarly, Hungarian authorities can—and do—express their acceptable or unacceptable points of view about Romania. That is a part of the concept of normal democratic dialogue.

[Medgyesi] You believe that your words have been misunderstood. What could be the reason for this misunderstanding? Did you perhaps make some statements that really could be misinterpreted?

[Pop] I do not wish to explain my interview, or to analyze every single phrase in my statement. I would not even be able to do so, because I granted my interview two months ago, and I do not have the exact text before me. Furthermore, I do not think that the details are important; one has to look at the whole interview. There may also have been some translation errors, which may have led to misunderstandings.

[Medgyesi] In any case, Mr. Ambassador, you have to admit that members of the Vatra Romanesca seriously wounded and almost blinded one of the greatest living Hungarian writers, Andras Suto, and that, as a result, your interview was received with some reservation in Hungary, to put it mildly. Indeed, in your interview you said that, among other things, the Vatra Romanesca is an organization which "has earned the admiration of the whole country, of all the national minorities in Transylvania, and—why not?—of all the countries on our continent."

[Pop] You see, that is another example of quoting out of context. I do not think that it would be normal for me to explain this to you now, in a different language—Hungarian—to the one I used in my original interview. We do not have to discuss the details. There may also have been some translation errors in this case.

[Medgyesi] You must understand, however, that we cannot forget what the Vatra Romanesca did to Andras Suto.

[Pop] I totally agree with you. Andras Suto is a very good friend of mine. That is not just what I say, Suto has stated this as well. We have known each other for 35 or 40 years, we used to live and work together. I am not a Vatra Romanesca follower, and like any other Romanian diplomat, I cannot be the member of a party or organization.

[Medgyesi] Allow me to take this opportunity to ask you what you think of Hungarian-Romanian relations. How do you think that tensions between our two countries could be eased?

[Pop] It would be very worthwhile to talk about this, and to take measures to reach a solution. Imre Szokai, deputy state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, recently visited Bucharest. The Hungarian side believed that Szokai's negotiations were unsuccessful, and that they turned out to be something of a fiasco. The reason for this was that, in the document that was to be signed, Szokai wanted to include a phrase about Romanian refugees that would have been insulting to the Romanian side. That was why the document was not signed in the end.

Personally, I thought that the negotiations were positive, concrete, and useful. Indeed, how could you talk about a fiasco when an agreement was reached on 38 out of the approximately 50 issues discussed in this series of negotiations? There were 10 issues altogether where standpoints were not brought closer together, but at least these topics were discussed, and the possibility of progress remains.

[Medgyesi] Can we hope for a Hungarian-Romanian summit in the near future?

[Pop] I certainly hope so. The goodwill is there on behalf of both Romanian President Iliescu and Hungarian President Goncz. An agreement is being reached through

diplomatic channels at the moment. I hope that I will soon be able to provide more concrete news in this respect.

Situation of German Minorities Analyzed

AU0412145490 Budapest MTI in English 1915 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, 2 December (MTI)—Those Germans living in Hungary will best preserve their national identity by their own initiatives; this was stated at the international conference organized by the Germans in Hungary Association and the Institute of Historical Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in its analysis of the survival prospects of the German ethnic minority in Hungary.

Participants agreed that the support of the Hungarian State, the establishment of bilingual and German-language schools, and the establishment of teacher training with the ethnic minority in mind, were necessary.

The Hungarian parliament's postponement of the discussion of the bill on ethnic minorities was described as regrettable, given the pressing nature of the issue of guaranteeing minority rights by law. They suggested that Germans in Hungary be represented in parliament by three independant candidates.

The participants of the conference think it very important to strengthen ties with the parent country, counting on the support of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Experts from these countries have already expressed their readiness to help with teacher training.

It has been declared several times that Germans in Hungary expect the same kind of compensation from the Hungarian Government for those Germans in Hungary who were interned, deported or had their property confiscated after World War II, as for others who were the victims of injustice.

Speeches and reports will be published in due course as well.

Antall Meets U.S. Officials Thornburg, Sessions

LD0312202990 Budapest MTI in English 1756 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 3 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met Richard Thornburgh, U.S. attorney-general, and William S. Sessions, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), in Budapest on Monday.

Thornburgh presented to Antall a personal message by President George Bush. The parties exchanged views on some topical international affairs, and Hungarian-U.S. relations, with special regard to cooperation between the judicial and national security organizations.

The meeting was attended by Peter Boross, minister without portfolio, and Charles Thomas, U.S. ambassador to Hungary.

Prime Minster Addresses Academy of Sciences

LD0312210190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Today Prime Minister Joszef Antall made a speech at the extraordinary assembly of the Academy of Sciences.

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall arrived at the assembly to greet the scientists in the middle of the debate on the principles of academic reforms. The words he said there, however, were addressed not only to the scientists, but to all of those who, seeing the difficulties today, are almost wishing the old order were back.

[Begin Antall recording] The change in the government would not have taken place if the previous system had been able to function. If it had not been able to function, and an economic, political, and social bankruptcy caused a peaceful takeover of power—without civil war—then one of the fundamental reasons for the peaceful takeover would be that they could no longer carry on.

It is impossible for us to make promises in the serious situation we have inherited, as well as with certain new factors we must take into account. We must count on declining living standards and increased difficulties, while trying to get out of this crisis with our national unity intact rather than in disarray.

I am asking members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to help us to make the population understand this. If we have no confidence in ourselves, the world will have no confidence in us. As a result, there will be no investments or improvements here, because without economic improvements, there are no opportunities for redistribution. [end recording]

Horvath Refutes NEPSZABADSAG Report

LD0112234590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Interior Minister Balazs Horvath has denied the report that appeared in NEPSZABADSAG that he will not deputize for the prime minister in parliament in the future. The interior minister said at the news conference following the regional conference of the Hungarian Democratic Forum in Veszprem that the mandate to deputize for the prime minister applies not to him but to the interior minister of the time. Thus, the report in NEPSZABADSAG, originating from sources supposedly close to the government, is completely erroneous and obviously wishes to refer back to the events of the taxi drivers' blockade when, because of Prime Minister Antall's illness, the interior minister had to negotiate and decide from two positions at once. Balazs Horvath hopes that he will not have to perform such a double task in the future.

MDF's Current Situation Assessed

AU0312163190 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 29 Nov 90 p 7

[Attila Agh report: "Where Is the Hungarian Democratic Forum Heading?"]

[Excerpts] The crisis affecting the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is being analyzed in an increasing number of reports nowadays, and statements about the party's internal divisions, conflicts between the parliamentary faction and the leadership of the party, and the lack of a concrete political program or a clarified ideology have become almost commonplace. It would be far too early to write off the MDF altogether, but it is also a fact that, as a "result" of its own strenuous efforts, the party has been considerably weakened over the last six months. In politics, the MDF has been in a defensive position for months. The party is being forced to provide explanations and to reshuffle the government.

The MDF's greatest "crime" is to have been paralyzed by an anachronistic and populist pseudo-ideology; the party has been unable to elaborate a modern, Europeanized national ideal, accompanied by a corresponding concrete program of national progress. Rather, the MDF has engulfed itself in the nebulous pseudo-ideology of its national "renewal" program. In the year of political pluralism, the MDF has been incapable of creating a modern conservative party along Western European lines; in other words, it has been unable to organize the right wing of the political spectrum into a functioning center-right party. That is why the MDF is directly responsible for party relations remaining incoherent, confused, and disorganized, both to the right and to the left of the political landscape; furthermore, the political parties themselves are provoking more and more disgust and anger among the population at large. [passage omitted]

All the MDF's attributes have turned out to be the opposite of what the party intended. First, the MDF is not a "people's" party, because the trend adopted by the leadership of the party is the legacy of Hungary's traditional political class; between the two world wars, the movement of Hungarian populist writers rebelled against this very class. The people's/populist movement marched through the era of state socialism as an indirect form of opposition politics, but the present overwhelmingly conservative leadership of the MDF did not take part in this movement. Furthermore, it does not share the national political line of the populist movement, based on strong social sensitivity. The left-wing "people's" line, with its strong social commitment, has become completely marginalized in the MDF, and the most renowned representative of this political line drew a justified conclusion when he left not only the leadership of the MDF, but the party itself. The shift to the right of the MDF is necessary and logical, but the leaders of the party should also stop masquerading; they should openly declare that the MDF is a center-right party by nature.

Second, the MDF is not a "national" party, even if we disregard the MDF's intention to be a national organization that lies above political parties. The MDF has created an ideological haze in Hungary; to truly represent the nation, the party has to obtain a national consensus on which it can elaborate an up-to-date and detailed modernization program for Hungary's society. So far, however, the MDF has proved incapable of harmonizing the notions of nation and society, or of Hungary and Europe, even though the party has several excellent historians to consult; during the reform period, these historians clearly proved that present times dictated harmonization. [passage omitted]

Finally, the MDF is not a "liberal" party, and this fact has even been expressed by the frustrated representatives of the MDF's liberal wing. It would be pointless to question whether there are, or whether there have remained, any liberals within the MDF, or to discuss the fact that a hoard of open and militant anti-liberals are coming to the fore. The truth of the matter is that the MDF is a conservative party, given its general characteristics and its whole system of international relations. Some people try to bridge the gap by talking about "liberal conservatism," but one simply needs to point out to these people that the MDF has been incapable of winning the support of the Hungarian social strata who really do have a vested interest in liberalism, and that is no coincidence. [passage omitted]

In early autumn, another small political cycle was completed. The end of this year will complete the current cycle. Today, the MDF is no longer a "leading" party, but merely one of the three major parties on the political scene. Perhaps the fourth national MDF congress will decide on the orientation of the party: Will the MDF continue with its descent, or will it turn around to become the conservative party of today's center-right?

Government Meets To Discuss Privatization Plans

LD0312173590 Budapest MTI in English 1603 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 3, 1990 (MTI-Econews)—From 1991, not only the government's state property agency and the company concerned will be able to initiate the privatization of a Hungarian firm: even potential buyers will be entitled to do so.

This was what the government decided at its latest session, when the draft property policy guidelines for next year were discussed.

The final guidelines will now come up for parliamentary approval.

Since Hungary seeks to give prevalence to private property, it will make further efforts to accelerate privatization.

According to the guidelines the government approved, the active participation of foreign working capital is essential for the privatization process to be a success.

Apart from the manufacture of certain traditional Hungarian products, foreign investors will be given the go-ahead in all fields.

According to preliminary estimates, privatization will yield a revenue of 40-50 billion forints in 1991.

About 85 per cent of that will go on reducing the state debt, and the rest will be used for replenishing the employment fund, promoting the influx of foreign capital, and establishing a stock exchange compensation fund.

The government does not support reprivatization, and does not wish to allot property to anyone free of charge.

Officials Interviewed on 1991 Budget

LD0312083990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 2 Dec 90

["The Week" program with unidentified moderator, and participants Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar; Gyorgy Matolcsi, state secretary and head of the Economic Policy Secretariat; National Assembly Deputy Attila Karoly Sos of the Alliance of Free Democrats; and Gyorgy Schamschula of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and member of the National Assembly Budget, Tax and Finance Committee]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] This week we talked a lot about the budget. More than likely, even those not interested in politics know that one of the most important questions today is: Will next year's budget be ready in time? Whether we can obtain further loans will depend on this as well.

We also know there were serious conceptual differences between Minister of Finance Ferenc Rabar, who announced his resignation this week, and Gyorgy Maolcsi, state secretary and head of the Economic Policy Secretariat.

The plan is ready. The planning figures fill 1,000 pages. The planned budget deficit was reduced to 78 billion forints in the end; furthermore, in the plan there are new pay increases for medical workers and people in education—the latter in excess of 20 percent.

National Assembly members will receive the plans. To accelerate the debate in parliament, so-called leading speakers will be elected who will summarize the comments of the individual parties.

[Moderator] Is it legal that the country's productive capacity will be smaller next year than it was this year?

[Rabar] Yes, it is legal. Unfortunately, the new Hungarian Government cannot influence the gulf crisis either.

[Moderator] Can you blame everything on the gulf crisis?

[Rabar] No. I mentioned, of course, that the collapse of CEMA also played an important part, but two factors must be taken into account here. One is that however much the shrinking CEMA market could be predicted, we were not prepared for the rapid rate of its decline.

The other is that even if we had been prepared, and even if we could see it now, we would still need time for the transition. It is impossible to reorganize the productive structure of an economy—the product structure and trading relations—in six months.

[Sos] I think a lot more could have been done. We must start from the fact that the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], at least from the end of last year, had been preparing to win the elections and govern the country; therefore, six months is not quite the correct time period to count. In addition, the six months could have included much more.

[Matolcsi] We had to establish a new governing structure. We had to form an economic policy which advanced from what our predecessors carried out. During this time, we were affected by very serious economic factors, as the minister already said.

[Moderator] So all this means that the economic policy of the MDF's election program was not a government-level economic program?

[Rabar] I did not say that. No, I did not. It has been a very good program, but even the best of programs can not take into account unexpected events. We already talked about them, whether they are the gulf crisis, the drought, or the deterioration in other economic relations. We were not able—and not only us but the economic forecasting bodies of much more advanced countries than us—to foresee or give advance warning.

[Matolcsi] Naturally various economic policy ideas have been worked out, which is reflected in the press as well. At least two or three different programs have been worked out. To return to this debate, I do not think anyone expected such a sudden deterioration in our external economic relations.

Anyone claiming this would have had to see in advance the speed of German unification. We have had to see such an unfortunately spectacular collapse in the Soviet economy.

No one, however, saw in advance such a spectacular improvement in the internal economy either.

Our positive balance of trade is around 1 billion dollars. Hungarian citizens invested about 1 billion dollars in Hungarian banks. Our balance of payments is positive. We have not had such things in the Hungarian economy for 20 years. Who saw these in advance?

Finally, it is unfortunate that no one expected such a low level of tolerance of the Hungarian people either. The

level of tolerance in Hungarian society is fragile. This could not be seen in advance either.

Naturally we have to be prepared for everything possible, and this is 1991.

[Moderator] Yes, but the level of tolerance should somehow at least be kept at this level?

[Sos] Yes, this is necessary—a political agreement between different political institutions, parties, and extraparliamentary political groups, a clear program, an accepted good budget which is presented to parliament by the government, and international help, new loans, and an IMF agreement—so there will be several conditions for success.

[Rabar] We do everything we can to come to an agreement. We are meeting the Interest Coordinating Council, I could almost say, continuously—twice weekly, I could say—to discuss various questions.

[Matolcsi] The Hungarian economy is suffering from 120 billion forints in losses. The majority of this is concentrated in the budget; therefore, the budget is at the center of the accommodation process. The difference is that we can progress faster on the road of changing to a market economy. Would it be possible now to introduce such tax changes into the Hungarian economic system if rapid privatization is implemented and the national insurance payments are reduced, and investments encouraged through amortizations? The response to all these would not be met by reducing consumption and demand but by increased performance.

[Schamschula] I will answer yes. I think the performance of the Hungarian economy during the past three years and the hidden, creeping marketization of the 1980's, and the explosive increase in enterprises, laid the foundations for a strong economy, opposite a fragile society. It is for this reason that stronger compliance can be the goal for 1991.

[Moderator] What is Rabar smiling at?

[Rabar] I am smiling because I know the necessary time demanded by those criteria Matolcsi just mentioned. A review of the national insurance system, the consistent restructuring of all tax systems taking into account the effects on various social groups, means a much longer time frame which is not available in preparing the 1991 budget.

We fully agree that the tax system must be restructured. We agree that the large redistributive systems of society, such as the national insurance, the pension system, the health system, and education all need to be restructed. We are convinced, however, that here we cannot do a hasty, careless job. If we want to reform these in a way which will leave us clear of the consequences as well, it will take time. We think these can be carried out by next March- April.

[Sos] These debates should have been conducted a long time ago. Then, a decision should have been made based on the results of the debates, because a normal government works in such a way that if two ministers say opposite things, someone has to decide who is right. On the basis of the decision made, the appropriate systems should have been worked out.

[Schamschula] It surprised me a great deal that my fellow member of parliament referred to both the government and society as abnormal. How does a normal government work as opposed to ours? [passage omitted] I see that in the past six months government and parliament have been workplaces where the legislative burden has been so great that mistakes unavoidably slipped in, which had to be corrected at plenary sessions. These were the reasons for the large number of amendments. In six months we had to pass a great many laws, which is not the customary parliamentary legislative burden. [passage omitted]

[Matolcsi] I think in the two to three years of the transition to a market economy, we have to be prepared for open governing, as well as different ideas within the government and within society which are diametrically opposite, but these ideas could conflict. Perhaps it is unfortunate to break the ice for the first time in the course of an interview; I admit it is unfortunate, but I think the debates we had in the economic cabinet, in the government during the past six months—and these were very tough and very constructive—must be made known to society.

[Moderator] I understand the budget deficit was agreed at 78 billion [forints]. According to you, can this be kept, and with what level of inflation?

[Rabar] In my view this can be kept. Inflation, however, depends on so many external factors—especially on next year's government stabilization policy—so it is very difficult to give predictions.

[Matolcsi] To be able to keep the officially predicted 35 percent inflation, inflationary expectations must be broken. For 1990, a one-third inflation is expected. This must be broken down in the future.

[Moderator] In the meantime, the clock did chime in the office of the minister of finance. Do you know who is to come here?

[Rabar] No, I have no idea. I do not know, I have not been informed.

[Matolcsi] It is the decision of the prime minister. We will undoubtedly learn sooner or later.

Commentary Says 'Walesa Nation's Clear Choice'

AU2911140390 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 26 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

["A.C."-signed commentary: "After the First Round"]

[Text] The first round of the presidential election did not bring a conclusive result. Such is democracy. It did, however, provide us with a lot of information on Polish society, which, for the first time in its history, found itself confronted with a great challenge to the exercise of its freedoms and responsibilities.

Once again, it transpired in a crucial moment, a moment decisive for the state's and nation's future, the feeling of duty to the common good took precedence over our everyday apathy and tiredness. The high turnout in yesterday's first round confirms this.

Even though the first round did not bring a result, the voting swing was unmistakable. It is not true—as the losing camp is maintaining—that the attitude of the electorate poses a threat to Polish democracy. The result of yesterday's round simply confirms the victory of the option that has said it wants to build the future of the nation together with the nation, not without it, removed far away in the hush of ministerial offices. The high election turnout and the clear supremacy of Lech Walesa, show that social expectations are closer to his vision of Poland's road toward a democratic and affluent country and far removed from those assurances for the need to stabilize at the poverty and disillusion level.

The results of the first round also show that the elections were not a plebiscite. It was a choice of a specific road and a rejection of Poland's former road out of the communist system. We have written about this on numerous occasions in our commentaries. We want to remain faithful to this vision of Poland's future and faithful to Lech Walesa's candidacy for president.

At the time of writing this commentary, the data presented by the Public Opinion Research Center shows that just as Lech Walesa does not pose a threat to Polish democracy, neither does Stanislaw Tyminski. It should be interpreted as a challenge to all those people who want to serve Polish interests through an honest and real dialogue. This is the best and most effective plane for educating and persuading. It clearly shows that the drive toward novelty—with a rejection of the former methods of governing—cannot take place at the cost of wisdom and dignity, because these qualities show that the future is also shaped by history, decades of experience, and the struggle for Poland in Poland, with the collective consciousness that the results are the fruit of this common struggle and not of the imported recipes for very limited, though much vaunted, successes.

The first round also shows that the final result will come on 9 December. Our duty to our future requires us to take part in the second round of the election. We must not allow the choice of a Polish president to be decided through statistical calculations. It must come about through a firm choice of the majority of the nation.

Peasant Party Endorses Walesa's Candidacy

LD0312224390 Warsaw PAP in English 2128 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 3—At its meeting here today the chief council of the Polish Peasant Party voted for supporting Lech Walesa in the second round of presidential elections. The council said in a statement that the party had been against organizing presidential elections in the current political and economic situation in Poland. It underlined that the present social moods before the run-off have confirmed the party's apprehensions.

Considering, however, the interest of the state and the national concord as the supreme reasons, the chief council is of the opinion that Lech Walesa can better fulfill the constitutional obligations of the Polish president.

Walesa Committee Urges Voting Rights for Emigres

LD0312153390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] In a published statement, the Citizens Committee attached to Lech Walesa has expressed its regret that our compatriots who hold Polish citizenship of the [interwar] Second Republic and at present live beyond the eastern frontiers of Poland have been left out of the voting in presidential elections.

Walesa Attends Citizens Parliamentary Club Meeting

AU0312170090 Warsaw PAP in English 0004 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 28 November (PAP)—"The first round of presidential elections has revealed the jeopardies to the programme of reform for which the 'Solidarity' has fought since 1980. The president of Poland, elected by the nation, must guarantee the execution of these changes in tune with the nation's desires," reads the resolution adopted today by the OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Club], a 'Solidarity' parliamentary floor group.

The OKP has called for mass participation in the election and for voting in favour of the candidate who has grown from the 'Solidarity' movement. Despite political differences which are between us, the resolution states, Poland's interest today requires decisive support to Lech Walesa.

Lech Walesa was present at the second part of the OKP meeting which began shortly before 9 pm. According to previous announcements, the dispute between senators, deputies, and presidential candidate Walesa will focus on the political situation which has emerged after the

first round of elections and after Prime Minister Mazowiecki's letter to Sejm speaker, in which the former asked for the dismissal of his government.

Asked by journalists what he expected of the meeting with the OKP deputies, Walesa replied: "Well, I really do not know. I think they will give me a hard time, but I want to talk." When asked whether he intended to stay in Warsaw on Thursday and whether he would talk with the prime minister, Walesa said: "I do not know."

Lech Walesa's meeting with deputies and senators from the OKP ended at 23:00 hours today [28 November].

The 'Solidarity' chairman repeated his earlier statements that few changes should be made until parliamentary elections. "The Balcerowicz plan, namely, the direction of the market economy, must be maintained with necessary corrections suggested, for instance, by farmers," Walesa said.

Answering some remarks by Bronislaw Geremek and Adam Michnik, Walesa stressed that if he had power in this country there would be no anti-Semitism, chauvinism and hatred here.

"We should, above all, respect law—and if we were able to function in the difficult periods of the past, we can act properly in democracy. I think we can save what we have built. I will cooperate with everybody. I want to play fair and honestly," Walesa stressed.

Skubiszewski Comments on Foreign Policy, Mazowiecki

LD0312145990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] I hope that Poland's foreign and economic policies will be continued, said Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski in a statement for the Italian newspaper IL GIORNALE when he was asked about matters relating to the results to date of the presidential elections in Poland.

The minister then went on to say that it would have been better to have first elected a new parliament and entrusted it with the choice of a president. I am not surprised that Mazowiecki lost—he is only halfway through the reform, and, moreover, he is not a man willing to conduct an aggressive election campaign, stressed Minister Skubiszewski.

Fikus Examines Government's Role After Resignation

AU3011124790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Nov 90 p 1

[Commentary by RZECZPOSPOLITA editor Dariuswz Fikus: "After The Resignation"]

[Text] The government has tendered its resignation, but to preserve continuity, it will carry on with essential state administrative functions until the appointment of a prime minister nominated by the new president.

The first noncommunist government of prewar Poland is stepping down after 14 months in office. The direct reason, as Tadeusz Mazowiecki has said, is "the opening to question of the vision of Polish democracy and of the creation of a healthy economy" which the government presented in September 1989.

This decision is the result of the low support Tadeusz Mazowiecki had in the first election round. In our opinion, the results of the first round need not be regarded as a vote of no confidence in the entire cabinet and its policies, for there are other reasons behind them.

This government was doomed to such an eventuality not only because it implemented an economic program that was very hard on society, but also because particularly high expectations were vested in this government at its inception. These expectations were confirmed by every survey carried out during the first few months of the Mazowiecki government.

An additional burden for this government was the fact that it was composed of people who had never held an important state post before and who had no experience, which is why they made mistakes easier.

Society experienced the formation of various political setups just as painfully. "Solidarity" was racked by internal squabbles. Society did not always understand that, a quite normal formation of democratic structures was construed as an incomprehensible family argument as a result of that.

The government crisis has occurred at a very difficult moment, when the Sejm is due to start work on what is perhaps the most important document, the budget. Thus, the Balcerowicz Plan, implemented with such determination and at such social cost, might be threatened.

We already know for certain that the second election round will produce a new president and, in fact, a new prime minister as well. But does that mean that the fundamental principles of this government will be erased? Regardless of who the president is and what kind of government there is, Poland's future is demcocracy and a free market.

Election Outcome, Tyminski's Support Analyzed

AU2911145390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 26 Nov 90 p 3

[Danuta Zagrodzka commentary: "What Next?"]

[Text] If, in a runoff between Mazowiecki and Walesa, we were to choose between certainty and risk, the curious combination of Walesa and Tyminski will force us to choose between a risk on the one hand and demagogy and wishful thinking on the other.

If Walesa wins, anything can happen. He may nominate Balcerowicz for the post of prime minister or entrust him with the economy in some other way, give him a free hand in selecting specialists, and enable him to continue with his program. He may even ensure that Balcerowicz has social calm for a time, which will make it easier to introduce the necessary changes, although this will not be easy in light of the hopes that he aroused during the campaign. In any case, this would be the best possible scenario for Poland, although one that would come as a disappointment to many people.

He might also want to "send a fresh wind" through everything and make changes and improvements, and will find many people willing to do that. There are, of course, a whole number of things that have to be improved, including things in the economy. If Walesa were to succeed in arousing a spirit of enterprise and energy, and the state could afford to assist that spirit or at least not put any obstacles in its way, then we would make significant progress toward creating a market economy and a middle class.

This energy, however, may be primarily focussed on this "fresh wind," on purges and informing, especially as enterprise requires a certain gift and at least some capital, whereas in the first case all that is necessary is frustration, of which there is no shortage. Administrative officials, managers, and factories, which already live in a state of uncertainty, would be plunged into even greater impotence, which could not fail to impact on economic performance. Constant changes would inevitably lead to chaos, and that would be the worst possible scenario. We would lose time, and we would have to make up that lost time later by doubling our efforts and under conditions that would be markedly worse, because the attitude of the rest of the world would no longer be favorable and we would have a smaller reserve of energy at our disposal.

There are a whole host of half-way solutions that lie between these two options. Personnel changes could be on a modest scale: Exceptional people with new ideas will be found, and they will make choices that are somewhat different from those that have been made until now. For example, by permitting higher inflation, it would be possible to stimulate higher output, or unemployment could be reduced by erecting barriers against foreign competition (but that would hamper our integration with the rest of the world). It will always be possible to choose one thing at the expense of another. In addition, it will not be possible to avoid the problems stemming from more expensive oil, the loss of those who have been our most loyalty customers until now, and the poor international competitiveness of Polish goods.

It is only at elections rallies that everything seems simple and anyone can become wealthy. The prospect, however, seems to be such an enticing one that some are prepared to take the risk. People may be in for a very painful disappointment.

What can you say about the economic program of someone who has come from nowhere, someone who confused enterprises' sales figures with the prices being asked for those enterprises? I have these main points of his program in front of me. It is full of nothing but generalizations of the following kind: Recovery and development depend on the work that citizens do.... it is essential to establish a close connection between industry and agriculture.... the key task is that of reforming the inefficient way in which state enterprises are run.

He won support at election rallies mainly by ruthlessly criticizing the government. He fulminated about the recession. He promised decent wages. He said that Poland is a victim of an international economic war. "We need a strategic plan for winning the struggle for wealth." He said that preparing such a plan is the future government's main duty.

It is actually difficult to establish anything whatsoever about what his intentions regarding the economy really are and even about what views he holds. That is something that voters were surely not concerned about. By voting for him, they vented their frustration and disappointment and also expressed their belief in miracles. Unfortunately, as I mentioned earlier, miracles do not occur in the economy.

Sejm Deputy Views Effects of Election Result

AU3011203390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Nov 90 p 2

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Jan Rokita by Aleksandra Fandrejewska; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [Fandrejewska] What do you think will be the economic and political consequences of Prime Minister Mazowiecki's election defeat and his government's resignation?

[Rokita] The only certain thing is that in the disintegrating region of Central-Eastern Europe, Poland has ceased to be an oasis of stability. An inert president, a discredited government, a parliament devoid of authority during the election campaign, and a somewhat uninhibited electoral commission that is slowly assuming power—all this is abnormal. The election campaign is not over yet, and the new cabinet's policies are a big question mark. There are two consequences. The first one concerns the social sphere. The 25 percent of the electorate that gave such a spectacular vote of no confidence in the "Solidarity" political stream can either grow or diminish. Which will it be? That is a question which concerns the future structure of Polish society. It is a question of whether this class will be capable of reaching a consensus under the new conditions. If not, this part of the electorate will multiply and create a threat to democracy. The second consequence is an economic one. Somewhat simplified, it reads: Balcerowicz, or no Balcerowicz? The two candidates made contradictory statements during the election campaign.

There will be a brief collapse of confidence in Polish economic policy around the world. It will only be brief if the government announces that it will continue with the economic policy.

[Fandrejewska] In what direction do you think the political situation will develop?

[Rokita] From the point of view of someone like me who thinks the best prime minister right now would be Tadeusz Mazowiecki, all I can say is that we must not let Mr. Tyminski win the second round. Mazowiecki's election staff has said so very clearly. Nevertheless, the most important question is whether the political base of Lech Walesa's presidency will be wide or narrow. I am not sure how much support the Alliance for Democracy [Mazowiecki's supporters] has. [passage omitted]

Scholar States Views on Election Outcome

AU0312140790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Nov 90 p 2

[Statements by scholars on election results: "There Is No Need To Dramatize"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Jadwiga Staniszkis, sociologist: Tadeusz Mazowiecki's defeat in the first round of the presidential election is a victory for Walesa, with his concept of a more energetic struggle against the recession, better social security, more extensive privatization by letting citizens hold shares, and a more effective agricultural and housing policy.

The Mazowiecki government's resignation at this particular time seems to be a decision dictated by damaged ambition. If the prime minister has resigned for the reasons I heard in the fragments of his speeches broadcast on the radio, then the reason for his defeat is the style of the campaign itself and what he called a crisis of society. He did not, however, say a single word about the government having made mistakes as well. He did not apologize for the rising inflation, for the fact that the costs of his maneuvers are much higher than we were promised, and that he had never presented the previously-announced plan for struggling against inflation.

I think the decision to dissolve the entire government ahead of time creates more uncertainty than his own resignation does. In which direction is the situation developing?

I wish to speak only for myself. It has been said many times that Walesa wants to continue with Balcerowicz's reforms, in other words collaborate with him. Of course, he means to go on to the second stage which Balcerowicz has not yet had time to do. That means an industrial policy, a struggle against the recession, an acceleration of privatization, and a better preparation for the shocks in store for us. I think that is what he wanted to do with Balcerowicz and that is what he will do.

If Walesa wins, and I think he is sure to win, he will emerge from his experience with Mr. Tyminski all the wiser. Tyminski's success is, among other things, a warning that the political past must not be exaggerated, that people are bored with politics, including "Solidarity," and that work should be appreciated. Tyminski was the only cnadidate to speak of work as a value, a resource each one of us possesses. After all, not many of us will ever be owners. I think that from now on, Walesa should surround himself not with politicians, but with successful businessmen—of whom there are dozens in Poland. He should show that there is money to be made in Poland, and give people hope for a reanimation, instead of the myth Mr. Tyminski has brought over from Canada.

Are there any people in Mazowiecki's government suitable for this? Perhaps there are even too many suitable candidates. Right now people are waiting for a cohesive, comprehensible economic program, waiting for Walesa's economic dimension to come out into the open. All this already exists. Walesa merely has to bring it out.

Second Round Election Procedures Outlined

AU2911195190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Nov 90 p 2

["K.Ch."-signed report: "The Second Round"]

[Text] The election campaign prior to the second round and the voting itself will be almost the same as in the first round.

Just like all the candidates in the first round, the two candidates for the Belvedere will have equal and free access to the first, second, third, and fourth Polish national radio programs and first and second television programs to present their election programs and issue statements. The campaign will commence no sooner than 1200 hours [1100 GMT] the day after the State Electoral Commission has publicly announced the results of the first round, and will end not later than 36 hours before 9 December, the day of the second round.

Right now, the air time allocated to each candidate amounts to a total of one hour on television and one-and-one-half hours on the radio. Any eventual joint debate, whether on radio or television, will not diminish the amount of individual air time.

The second round of voting will take place on Sunday, 9 December. One should, however, know that it might not take place at all if any candidate withdraws, loses his election qualifications, or, God forbid, dies. In that case, the remaining candidate would become president without a fresh election.

Nevertheless it is certain that in less than two weeks time, on Sunday 9 December between 0600 and 2000 hours, the voters will once again proceed to their usual polling stations to repeat the entire procedure. This time there will only be two names on the ballot paper, and it will be necessary to place a cross against one of them.

The second round of voting will be conducted on the basis of the same voting lists as on 25 November. But this time it will only be held in Poland, unlike last Sunday.

The candidate with the greatest number of valid votes will be president.

The repeat voting will also be dry. The ban on selling and serving liquor in force on 24 and 25 November will also be in force on 8 and 9 December.

Free Democrats' Movement Registered in Warsaw

LD3011213990 Warsaw PAP in English 1942 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 30—The Warsaw Provincial Court registered today a new party called Free Democrats Movement.

In December, the party will hold a national meeting with a view to adopting a provisional programme, to be valid until Free Democrats convene a congress in mid-1991, Karol Glogowski, a member of the Presidium of the party's founding team, said at a press conference following the registration.

Council of Ministers Debate Privatization Program

LD0312235790 Warsaw PAP in English 1946 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 3—The Council of Ministers met here this afternoon to discuss the draft privatization programme which the government has to present to the Sejm. The mechanism of privatization suggested by the government will radically change the structure of ownership in Poland during the next five years and make it similar to that in Western Europe.

It is assumed that during three years, more than half of the state property will be privatized. The programme will guarantee both the necessary protection of the interests of the state treasury and the quick pace of privatization.

The Council of Ministers will also review the bill on the excessive-wage tax for the year 1991 and the draft of changes in the employment law.

Government, Solidarity Discuss Economic Situation

LD0212233790 Warsaw PAP in English 2059 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—Government and Solidarity union representatives met on December 1 to discuss Poland's economic situation at the end of 1990 and prospects for 1991 as well as the consequences of the disintegration of the economic system of CMEA countries for the Polish economy.

The meeting was chaired by Minister Jacek Kuron and Solidarity Vice Chairman Lech Kaczynski. Vice Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz took part in the talks.

The sides examined a draft of changes in the tax system of controlling wages and a broad range of wage and branch problems. They also decided that the discussion on numerous questions on which there were differences of opinion would be resumed later.

During the meeting, trade unionists learnt that:

—It proved possible to arrest the drop in real wages recently. If an upward trend in nominal wages was to stay, it would not be possible to prevent the recurrence of the rise in prices and inflation.

—Next year, the economy would be stimulated primarily by breaking up monopolistic structures and accomplishing ownership changes leading to the reduction of prices.

—In 1991, the government planned to concentrate on a policy of fighting unemployment. At the same time, subsidies for the labour fund and chiefly for unemployment benefits would grow considerably. Real wages should no longer fall next year and consumption should rise by 11-12 per cent.

The following are some remarks and proposals made by trade unionists:

If the incomes of other groups, were to rise more swiftly than the wages of state employees, one could hardly expect people to stand this.

The volume of subsidies for the labour fund meant that Solidarity's efforts to make the fund serve more active forms of fighting unemployment were doomed to failure. A programme for fighting unemployment should become a subject of parliamentary debate.

Deputy Defense Minister on Restoring Army Morale

AU3011080890 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 23-25 Nov 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Deputy Defense Minister Bronislaw Komorowski by Irena Baczynska; place and date not given: "A New Moral Climate in the Armed Forces"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Baczynska] As you have mentioned, internal Army matters, I would like to ask you to evaluate the work of the new education corps in the Army. What do you consider its achievements?

[Komorowski] Above all, the return to tradition. The civic education of the servicemen is to be based on the vast experience accumulated by many generations of Poles in their fight to preserve Polish national identity. A return to tradition is the main factor that will cultivate

moral strength and civic conscientiousness in a serviceman. This means that Army units will inherit historic emblems, colors, and insignia on their battle standards, and the regimental badges of former regiments, as well as their particular ceremonial. They will have full freedom to choose the appropriate patron for their unit. We will only look to see that the patron is suitable for the particular service and the particular unit. [passage omitted]

[Baczynska] The unit commander should play a key role in the educational process. Is it reasonable, however, to expect that the commander, who is already burdened with various organizational, economic, and other duties, to assume responsibility for an effective and competent educational program?

[Komorowski] It is true that the commander bears the main responsibility for the education aspects in his unit, but he is not abandoned to his own devices. He is supported by a new educational corps, founded several months ago. Our aim is to expand this corps. It has to be well trained and be highly professional. The need for such an education corps becomes more obvious with every passing day. This is confirmed by the experiences of the U.S., French, and German Armies. We shall seek to strengthen this corps with civilian experts, teachers, sociologists, and psychologists. We would like these people to become part of the structures of our Armed Forces, and not just to cooperate with them. The Polish Army's Department of Education is preparing to set up a Military Psychology Service, which will be an integral part of our educational system.

Here, I would like to stress the position of the Army Chaplaincy Service, which plays a crucial role in giving pastoral care to young people who have been called up to do their basic national service. During my meetings with servicemen, it became apparent how important it is for servicemen to have access to a chaplain. The chaplain is not just somebody they can confide in. Very often, he provides a link between the world they left behind and their difficult everyday military reality. Pastoral care in the Army gives the serviceman a hierarchy of spiritual and moral values, tones down stress and supports the Army's educational effort. [passage omitted]

Deputies Discuss Trade Situation With USSR

LD2811210990 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—The current activities of the government augur a good prospective trade between Poland and the Soviet Union despite the fact that turnover will record a downward trend next year, the deputies of the Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and Maritime Economy said today.

By the estimates of the Polish-Soviet trade next year, Polish exports will fall by 30-50 percent, this resulting in some 2 billion dollar-deficit in foreign trade.

Under an intergovernment agreement of Nov. 13, Poland and the Soviet Union will switch to accountings in convertible currencies as of the beginning of 1991.

Till the end of this year the two countries are expected to determine the ceiling of mutual payments, that is the settlement of the Polish debt totalling 4.6 billion rubles and foreign trade surplus reaching over 4 billion rubles.

Skubiszewski Interviewed on Recent USSR Visit

AU2711133790 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 23 Nov 90 pp 1,6,7

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Wojciech Gielzynski on 31 October; place not given: "One Can Argue Over the Degree of Success"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Gielzynski] Let us move on to the east. You described your recent visit to the USSR, Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia as "very successful." I would like to ask you whether it is often the case that documents are not signed, although the signing of such documents is the purpose of a visit?

[Skubiszewski] No, that is seldom the case, especially in modern times. You must be thinking of Belorussia, as we signed declarations with the Ukraine and Russia?

[Gielzynski] I am also thinking of Russia, because there was a two-day delay in signing the declaration.

[Skubiszewski] What significance do two days have? The delay was the result of time constraints. If you were to divide up my visit into "national parts," then my visit to the Russian Federation lasted half a day. Yeltsin was of the opinion that the declaration should at least be submitted at a session of the presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, although the document had been prepared and discussed earlier. It was understandable, because the foreign minister had just changed unexpectedly, and unexpected developments are still occurring there... That was still not that large-scale an event....

[Gielzynski] Something even more dramatic occurred in the Ukraine. The government fell two days after your visit.

[Skubiszewski] Government and individuals change, but states remain. The declaration was signed on behalf of Poland and the Ukraine. On my return to Russia, the Russian Federation's minister said: "I have been minister for a half a day, and I have not managed to prepare this matter," although the document had been discussed by emissaries. On the other hand, something entirely different happened in Belorussia. The issues had also been discussed and prepared, but during the course of preliminary talks before my visit, the Belorussians presented us with their version of the declaration. That was no reason to postpone the visit. I thought that it would be a very bad thing if I had said that I would not come to Minsk until the declaration had been finally completed.

After all, what was the purpose of the visit? To establish contact and to hold a first set of talks.

[Gielzynski] Surely you went to Minsk expecting the declaration to be ready for signing!

[Skubiszewski] But agreement had not been reached on every point. So, I had a choice: I could either leave out Minsk, which would have been far worse, or go there, hold talks, and possibly limit things to a communique instead of a declaration. That is what I decided to do. In the meantime, however, various internal Belorussian disputes and conflicts arose, which I would prefer not to discuss for obvious reasons. In any case, the talks that I held in New York with Ambassador Kravchenko ceased to be relevant. He found himself under a lot of pressure from the opposition, which comprises various tendencies, including a nationalist one. In addition, a delegation from Bialystok arrived and wanted to know how they were to be treated. As far as the declaration is concerned, there was essentially one contentious issues: How should the sentence on the border be formulated? I expected this issue to be raised. As for the declaration with the Ukraine, I was very pleased that the issue had not been raised, although certain groups there had brought up the border question. Unfortunately, no progress could be made on this issue in Belorussia, and I tried to remain exceptionally calm.... [passage omitted].

[Gielzynski] Deliberately or not, you have made an important distinction that would suggest that we no longer consider Lithuania part of the USSR. Is that the official position?

[Skubiszewski] That is not how I would view the issue, because in many respects Lithuania is linked to the USSR, despite the declaration of independence. We have to take account of the facts. I want to state this clearly: We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR, to aid the "dismantling" of the USSR or prevent that from happening. That is something that we do not want to do. What is happening in the USSR creates, however, certain facts. We have to deal with these facts. That is what I said in Moscow, not on this latest occasion, but much earlier. As soon as the Lithuanian issue arose, I said: Lithuania is our neighbor, we have certain ties with it, and that is why we have and will have a position on this issue. Shevardnadze's reply was very terse: "We understand Poland's position." There was no further comment. That was during a telephone conversation, but he later said: "It is an internal issue for the USSR," and on this occasion I did not respond. We recognize Lithuania's aspirations toward independence, and we will render it assistance that will not harm our relations with the USSR. This is a separate issue today. Lithuania has not, however, obtained independence yet, it is in a transitional stage, and I am ready to make concrete moves toward Lithuania when the independence question assumes a more concrete form. At present, the border is controlled by Soviet officials and the opportunities to act are not very great. Unfortunately, last fall Sajudis also rejected a plan of ours to open a consulate general in Vilnius: That is a great pity, because it would have been very useful. It will no doubt be opened later. [passage omitted]

Soviet Troops Transit Memorandum Handed to Envoy

LD0312235690 Warsaw PAP in English 2001 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 3—A memorandum of Poland's Foreign Ministry and a draft treaty on the transit of Soviet troops temporarily stationed in the FRG through the territory of Poland was handed over to the Soviet ambassador here.

The draft includes proposals how to regulate legal, organizational and economic aspects related to the operation. The draft will be a subject of negotiations with the Soviet side due to be held in the first half of December here.

The negotiations will also cover a draft treaty between Poland and the USSR presented on Sept. 14, 1990 on withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland.

Joint Trade Agreement Reached With Hungary

LD2811114190 Budapest MTI in English 1112 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, November 28 (MTI)—An agreement on the switching to settlements in convertible currency in bilateral trade was signed by Hungary and Poland in Warsaw on Tuesday [27 Nov].

According to the agreement, marking the start of a change of the economic system, the last phase of rouble-accounting trade will come to an end in May 1991.

The switch to convertible currency accounting is likely to bring about a temporary decline in bilateral trade.

In Polish experts' opinion, the setback of the turnover may reach 40 percent, continuing up to the end of June 1991, when after a temporary stagnation the turnover will start growing again.

Zimowski Briefs Sejm on Romanians in Poland

LD2911235190 Warsaw PAP in English 2211 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—At present approximately 60,000 Romanian, mostly Romanian gypsies, have flocked to Poland, Vice-Minister of Internal Affairs Jerzy Zimowski informed the Sejm (lower house of parliament) today. The vice-minister added that they are living off of pan-handling and outright begging.

The plenipotentiary for refugees added that the situation has reached dangerously great proportions. He compared the situation in the Warsaw eastern railway station to that of Delhi, not only in regard to the Romanians

aggressively begging but as well as dangers presented to public safety and sanitation.

Vice-minister Zimowski claimed that many of the Romanian children should be hospitalized immediately, as they are suffering from several diseases.

"Should the situation continue to fester unchecked, we may be forced to act as the Hungarians have, by transporting them back to Romania. The cost would be great, and the logistics of such an operation would be tremendous but we may find that we have no other alternative. Before we undertake such a decision, we should keep in mind that we can expect the governments of the West to deal with Poles who break their laws in much the same manner."

[Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 2140 GMT on 27 November reports: "After 1 December, Polish tourists arriving in Romania will have to have the equivalent of $20 for every day of their stay. This is in retaliation for a similar move made by Warsaw"]

Kolodziejczyk Recalls Official Visit to Germany

LD2911210790 Warsaw PAP in English 1950 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—Having returned from an official visit to Germany, National Defence Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk told PAP today the visit had passed in the matter-of-fact and open atmosphere.

Among the questions a Polish delegation discussed with their German counterpart Kolodziejczyk mentioned the international confidence building measures regarding military service, and mainly the Polish-German relations in this respect, and the functioning of defence ministries and armies of the two countries.

He added the two sides had signed an agreement on the preventive measures against incidents in the sea outside the territorial waters, and that they had agreed to establish cooperation in the field of air force security.

Kolodziejczyk said the Bundeswehr adopted a friendly attitude towards a Polish proposal to train Polish officers in Germany, and added they also talked about conveying to Poland part of military equipment of the army of the former GDR.

Agreement on German Trade Expires 31 Dec

LD0112224790 Warsaw PAP in English 2056 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 1—The long-term agreement on mutual deliveries of trade and services between the Republic of Poland and the GDR expires as of December 31, 1990, the Polish Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations reported today.

As of December 31, 1990, no settlements of contracts signed under the agreement will be calculated in transfer rubles.

All licences for import and export deals calculated in transfer rubles with the former GDR expire as of December 31, 1991, except for cases when the two sides agree upon new conditions of payment in hard currency.

Szymanderski Appointed to NATO Political Body

LD3011143590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1010 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] At the 36th session of the North Atlantic Assembly, which is taking place in London, Deputy Jacek Szymanderski was elected special member of a working party of the political commission of this parliamentary annex of NATO.

The party is going to examine various concepts of the future architecture of European security. The Polish deputy is the first parliamentarian in the history of NATO to come from a state which is not a member of the Pact and to be formally elected to participate in the work of the assembly.

Skubiszewski Assesses Benefits of NATO Session

LD3012231690 Warsaw PAP in English 2142 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Mariusz Kuklinski report]

[Text] London, Nov. 30—Asked by PAP what political benefits may be drawn from Poland's being invited to take part in the North Assembly session for the first time, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said in part:

I would like to stress that Poland is represented at the North Atlantic session also by a parliamentary delegation. I was invited to deliver an expose on relations with the North Atlantic Pact on where we would see NATO in the future joint security system.

I also pointed to a problem which is often ignored—namely to the role of NATO in the second part of Europe, in Central and Eastern Europe. There is a need to start speaking about this matter. I am of the opinion that the North Atlantic Treaty, as a vital part of European security, cannot remain indifferent towards Central and Eastern Europe, where unrest or tension and conflict may take place.

Gulf Crisis, Possible Solutions Discussed

AU0312165090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1321 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/12/1990—Answering a question of "ADEVARUL" daily on the way in which Romania's participation in the negotiations for a peaceful solution to the gulf crisis is seen, Ambassador Aurel Dragos Munteanu, head of Romania's Permanent Mission at the UN, said: The UN has proved the vigour and mobility of the framework it has created to face possible threats to international security and peace. I am glad that Romania has been up to its responsibilities as chairman when it came to the adoption of solutions to overcome the crisis.

The process follows the pattern Romania suggested and negotiated already on 2 August when Kuwait was invaded. It was said in the Security Council that this prestigious body has not operated before August 1990 as its founders dreamed. These words of Sir Crispin Tickel, former permanent representative of Great Britain to the United Nations, have been recorded in the UN official archives and are a recognition of Romania's role.

Our country is also co-author of the Resolution 678 meant to consolidate even more the position of the world organization, the prestige and authority of the Security Council resolutions. The UN was and remains the framework for a peaceful settlement of this conflict, and we support also its participation as it is, through a deeper involvement of the secretary-general and the utilization of his good offices, the head of the Romanian mission at the UN said.

Remaining Workers in Iraq To Be Repatriated

AU0312193190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1847 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1990—Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs informs that on December 2, 1990 the Iraqi authorities confirmed their approval for the repatriation of the last group of Romanian experts employed by ARCIF [expansion unknown] now in Iraq at the irrigation site at Hilla.

The departure of the 291 experts in Baghdad and their arrival in Romania is to take place at intervals during this week.

Nastase Meets U.S. Undersecretary of State

AU0212164290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2159 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Washington, ROMPRES, 1/12/1990—Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase met in Washington U.S. under secretary of state Lawrence Eagleburger.

The meeting was an opportunity for an in-depth exchange of views on Romanian-U.S. relations and on the obstacles that had prevented their development, as well as on confidence-building and better communications between the two governments. U.S. support for democratic processes in Romania was also discussed. International questions, chiefly the gulf crisis and developments in Eastern Europe, were taken up as well.

U.S. Urged Not To Close Down Radio Free Europe

AU0312132290 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28 Nov 90 p 1

[Editorial note: "To the Congress of the United States of America"]

[Text] The process of structuring organizations and of creating the necessary institutions for guaranteeing democracy is currently under way in Romania. The efforts made by the nongovernmental press to correctly and fully inform the country's citizens and to counteract the disinformation practiced by television, radio stations, and ROMPRES news agency, which are subordinated to the government, are tremendous and far from being complete. The preservation in power of part of the former communist nomenklatura, the use of nondemocratic procedures, sometimes violent ones, against those who do not share official viewpoints, and the frequent violation of human rights make it necessary to use all means permitted by law to establish democracy in our country.

The Romanian language broadcasts of "Radio Free Europe" are—for an important part of the population—one of the credible and daily means to learn the truth and be in contact with the free world. We are concerned about the possible closing down of "Radio Free Europe" and therefore ask the U.S. Congress to discuss the need to continue this activity or even the question of opening a studio of "Free Europe" in Bucharest. This measure could be a natural alternative to the official radio stations and an essential element in the real democratization of the Romanian mass media.

Romanian Journalists' Association, Group for Social Dialogue, Independent Group for Democracy, Students League, Timisoara Society, "15 November" Association, Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army, Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum, "Fratia" Confederation, Association of Former Political Detainees, Reflection Group for the Renewal of the Church, Society of Tomorrow, and Civic Alliance.

Bucharest, 26 November 1990

International Seminars Held on Market Economy

AU0312195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1844 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1990—Under the auspices of the World Bank, two international seminars are taking place in Bucharest over December 3-7, with the participation of delegates from ministries, banks, foreign trade companies, etc. During the seminars,

experts of the World Bank will deliver lectures on the business possibilities and the practice of that body concerning purchases for the implementation of IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development]-financed projects.

The debates were opened by Napoleon Pop, secretary of state, head of the Foreign Trade Department, who said that the passage to a market economy now in progress with all problems it entails requires first of all a thorough knowledge of the multitude of issues and actions that need be taken in attaining that goal. The World Bank, through its representatives at the seminars, is contributing to our reintegration among the countries with an economy at the level of the third millennium, which we are aiming at.

John Nebiker, purchase expert, member of the World Bank Paris branch, speaking on behalf of the group of World Bank experts, said that Romania had been a World Bank member for almost twenty years and hoped for that cooperation to continue.

Besides the seminars, the World Bank experts will have talks with Romanian governmental bodies in charge of working out the legal framework for such purchases in order to draw up a study on the legislation in force in Romania and its compatibility with World Bank regulations.

The first seminar that took place on Monday, December 3, covered the World Bank's opportunities for business with Romanian private and state-run economic agents.

Finance Minster Stolojan Meets EBRD President

AU0312214390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2045 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1990—On Monday, Mr. Jacques Attali, president elect of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] with headquarters in London, came to Romania for a two-day visit at the Romanian Government's invitation.

At the Otopeni Airport, waiting for Mr. Attali's arrival, Mr. Teodor Stolojan, Romanian finance minister, told ROMPRES the following: "Mr. Attali is coming to Romania to learn about our need to cooperate with the EBRD and to discuss concretely a number of projects, concerning especially the development of the private sector and environment research. We have such projects and will present them, and we hope Romania will become a good customer of the bank, which will probably start operating in the next year's first quarter."

At the Finance Ministry, before his meeting with Mr. Teodor Stolojan, Mr. Jacques Attali told the press the following: "The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has been recently set up and is called upon to unite all the European countries that are heading towards democracy and market economy. Romania is a member of this organism, and therefore I have come to this country to find out about its needs and the conditions under which these aims are attained."

During the interview the Romanian finance minister presented aspects of the stage and rhythm of economic reforms in Romania, and the prospects of their development next year.

The same day, at Romania's National Bank, Mr. Jacques Attali met with the governor of this institution, Mr. Mugur Isarescu, as well as with presidents of private banks in Romania.

On the occasion Mr. Mugur Isarescu presented the outlook on the reform of the banking and credit system in Romania.

Iliescu Receives Japanese Media Official

AU3011200690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1932 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—Yoichi Takeuchi, vice-president of the Association of Press Commentators of Japan, visited Romania over November 26-30.

While in Romania, he was received by President Ion Iliescu.

The guest had an interview with Coriolan Babeti, secretary of state, the Ministry of Culture. He was also received at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at executives of leading dailies. The Romanian party thanked Mr. Takeuchi for his one-million yen donation for the rebuilding of Romania's Arts Museum.

German Interior Ministry Official Visits Sibiu

AU3011211690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2050 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—Sibiu County has Mr. Frank Kroppensted, first deputy minister of the interior of Germany, as its guest on a fact-finding visit. He is accompanied by his personal adviser as well as by Mr. Hoch Meister, deputy chairman of the Transylvanian Saxons' Association in Germany, as well as by Petru Terzi, secretary of state of Romania.

The aim of the delegation's visit is to get informed on the spot about the situation of the Saxons and Swabians in Transylvania. So, in view is the beginning of a cooperation venture with the Romanian Government, with the German Democratic Forum and the local administrations for the settlement in Romania of German ethnic minority people.

UDMR Presidium Communique on Working Meeting

AU0112104990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0741 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/12/1990—On November 27-29, the Presidium of Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR] had a working meeting in Bucharest. Present were members of UDMR parliamentary group, senators and deputies.

After analyzing the current political situation and the activity of the UDMR, the communique says, the presidium established that under the present political circumstances the political line assumed by UDMR after the elections, of constructive opposition, had proved to be the right one. For continuing to promote an adequate political line, UDMR maintains the dialogue with the ruling party and the cooperation with the forces thinking and acting democratically, therefore with the parliamentary and extraparliamentay opposition, with several free union confederations. UDMR pays attention to the present social processes and adopts political stands and measures aiming at democracy and the safeguarding of the interests of the minorities, in keeping with the UDMR program.

The decision was made that 'Puntea' (Bridge), which had so far been occasionally published in Cluj, should be sponsored by UDMR, in order to make known its activity and purposes.

Iliescu Receives Switzerland's Prince Sturza

AU0312193290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1813 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1990—Romania's President Ion Iliescu had an interview on Monday with Mr. Dimitrie Sturza [Prince Dimitrie Sturza, descendent of a long line of Romanian royalty], Swiss citizen of Romanian origin.

In a statement made after his interview with the Romanian head of state, the guest said inter alia: "We have discussed Romania's present situation. I think the team now at the power has done the best they could have done. It is not the right moment to divide as certain representatives of the opposition wish. All of us should work, it is not possible that some of us build and others destroy. The duty of all those bearing a Romanian name is to think very well of this country. On my behalf I have brought from Switzerland four trucks of aid.

Alba Iulia National Day Incidents Reported

Examined by Deputies' Assembly

AU0312220090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2111 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1990—On December 3, the Chamber of Deputies resumed debates with several bills on the agenda.

Several deputies spoke during the meeting about the events and reactions in the Parliament's solemn session of Alba Iulia dedicated to Romania's national day. Representatives of the National Liberal Party, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania] and the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party] condemned certain attempts during the Parliament's solemn session to prevent the leaders of those parties from delivering their addresses and blamed the governmental authorities, the National Salvation Front and the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union for such actions.

The deputies for the National Salvation Front, the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union and other political groups rejected the accusations and claimed they had had nothing to do with the regrettable actions in Alba Iulia.

At the conclusion of the talks, Mr. Dan Martian, speaker of the chamber, appealed to an "accurate understanding of what happened" during the Alba Iulia rallies, to a constructive cooperation among fellow parliamentarians, to their joint efforts to strengthen the democratization process of Romanian society. Next the Assembly of Deputies passed the bill authorizing the government to set or alter taxes.

The chamber further approved the report by the mediating commission in charge of settling controversies about the bill on the organization and functioning of the Romanian Government.

After an overall and item-by-item study the Assembly of Deputies also endorsed the bill on the creation, organization and functioning of the Supreme Council for National Defence, a body designed to coordinate all measures concerning the country's defence and state security. The bill stipulates that the Supreme Council for National Defence consist of the president of Romania as chairman, the prime minister as deputy chairman and eight members heads of the main bodies directly responsible for the fulfilment of national defence and state security duties.

The proceedings in plenum of the Assembly of Deputies are to be resumed on Tuesday morning at nine o'clock.

Political Parties Protest

AU0312220190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2118 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1990—In press communiques, several political formations, among which the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, the National Liberal Party, the Christian Democratic Union, made known their stands on the manifestations and reactions having occurred during the Parliament's solemn session in Alba Iulia, dedicated to the celebration of Romania's national day.

In the communiques, those political formations accused the National Salvation Front, the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union as well as the government of having caused and organised such actions.

Both the National Salvation Front and the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union categorically reject such accusations, asserting that they are in no way involved in the blamable acts in Alba Iulia on December 1.

PNT-cd Protests Hostile Outbursts

AU0312184090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1502 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1990—The Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [National Peasants Christian Democratic Party—PNT-cd] voices its protests to the organization and holding of the great civic rally at Alba Iulia on 1 December, it says in a note sent to Romania's national agency "ROMPRES."

After pointing out that the present Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party is the legitimate continuator of the National Party of Transylvania, whose president was Iuliu Maniu and which had a decisive role in the 1918 union, the protest mentions Corneliu Coposu was hindered from speaking at Alba Iulia, and "that was staged by the regime."

"The treatment given to the representative of the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania" the note also says, "is against the Romanian people's characteristic kindness and the general course to democratization in eastern Europe."

The Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party reserves its right to make a thorough analysis of what has happened at Alba Iulia and take the necessary steps, the protest concludes.

PNT-cd Blamed by Vatra Romaneasca

AU0312204490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1946 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1990—The attempt to blame "Vatra Romaneasca" Union for what happened in Alba Iulia is a tactical propagandistic manoeuvre of the leaders of the Christian and Democratic Peasant Party [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—PNT-cd] who are trying to spare the already curtailed prestige of its president, Mr. Corneliu Coposu who, after the December 1989 revolution, involved its political group in all sorts of alliances and destabilizing actions meant to prejudice the Romanian people's major interests, a communique by the steering committee of "Vatra Romaneasca" Union reads. His latest statement in Budapest last month is but a telling proof of that fact.

The unfavourable reaction of most participants in the great civic rally to Mr. Coposu's address in solemn session of the Romanian Parliament was staged by no one. It was the spontaneous but firm reaction of over one hundred thousand people attending the nation's dearest celebration. It sprang from their dissatisfaction with the present leadership of the Peasant Party's share in the country's new political life, which stains by its anti-Romanian attitude the memory of the Romanian National Party led by Iuliu Maniu who played a prominent part in the great union of December 1, 1918.

Subsequently, Mr. Corneliu Coposu is entirely responsible for the failure and unpopularity scored by the Peasant Party in Alba Iulia, the communique adds.

RMDSZ Issues Statement

AU0312151190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Nov 90 p 3

[Andras N. Peter report: "RMDSZ (Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania) Statement on 1 December 1918—It Could Mean the Revival of Our Hopes"]

[Text] "The Alba Iulia Declaration makes the date 1 December 1918 important for the national minorities living in Romania; therefore, this festive memorial also means the promise to respect and implement individual and collective national minority rights"—the statement of the National Presidium of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] says in connection with the first celebration of Romania's national day on 1 December.

The document points out that the RMDSZ is aware of the "historical reflections of the old Alba Iulia, because this town was the political and administrative center of the principality of Transylvania for a long time." Speaking about the ideals of the Alba Iulia Declaration, which proclaimed the unification of Transylvania with Romania, the RMDSZ said that these ideals anticipated a modern Europe based on the principles of equal rights and self-government, and considered full national freedom for every nation living in that country; in other words, the right of every nation to use its own language in education, public administration, and the administration of justice, through their representatives. The statement also points out that the 72-year-old Alba Iulia

document states that "according to their numbers, every nation will be represented in the legislative bodies and the country's leadership."

In praising the Alba Iulia Declaration, the RMDSZ statement declares, among other things, that the aforementioned document was the "public law masterpiece" of progressive Romanian politicians who really believed that "there was no other alternative to peaceful and friendly coexistence in a really democratic constitutional state."

The aforementioned statement points out that the "acceptance and implementation of the Alba Iulia principles without reservation" would both serve the interests of the Romanian state and also mean revived hopes for the Hungarians in Romania, who have been suppressed and humiliated for decades." In conclusion, it stresses that the Romanian national day represents "the beginning of a series of December anniversaries." The document also mentions the heroic uprising in Timisoara and the date of 22 December 1989 which promised a radical change in the Romanian society. The statement of the RMDSZ Presidium calls upon its members to accept the December anniversaries in Romania "in the spirit of dignity."

On the day prior to the issuance of the aforementioned statement, a statement issued by the leadership of the RMDSZ Maros County organization announced that it would initiate a libel suit against an engineer and also a colonel in the reserves who, according to the statement, abused his former position as mayor of the town, lured the Hungarian writer Andras Suto and turned him over to the pogrom in March 1989.

Roman Addresses FSN Rally in Bucharest 20 Nov

AU3011180390

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Television Network in Romanian at 1700 GMT on 22 November carries another in the "Viewpoints" series. The first item of the program, which has been recorded in progress, consists of a video clip on Prime Minister Petre Roman addressing a rally in Bucharest organized by the National Salvation Front [FSN] to mark six months since its victory in the 20 May elections, which are termed by Petre Roman as "the first free elections in Romania."

Talking about the government program, Roman says that "the FSN presented a program which the country endorsed" and aims "to create a framework in which people work for their own benefit." He then stresses that "it is not an easy program," because "we have inherited a difficult situation," but "the FSN and the government will do their duty to the state." This statement is followed by cheers of "We support the government," which brings a broad smile to Roman's face.

Roman continues by emphasizing that "we have no complexes because of demagogic criticism" and "we have never lied to anyone about what we want to do." In connection with the economic reform, he says that "it is inevitable, because we have broken with the past and want to join the progress of our time and modern Europe." In the same context, he says that the economic reform program "is a viable formula" of people "who have assumed the responsibility for this country." The latter statement is followed by more chants of "We support the government."

Roman then points out the difficult things the government faces for which "we need the encouragement and trust" of the people. He also stresses the "essential and decisive role" played by the FSN "which can and will have the people's support," as well as the fact that "this power exists through the will of the people." The crowd responds to this statement with further chants.

Looking back on the six months since the elections, Roman says that "many good things have occurred," but "many are unsatisfactory" because "social inequity and injustice have also emerged" in "this social freedom." In this connection, he points out that "we have a parliament to adopt the laws needed" to ensure "control over a calm and balanced social development." He also says that we need "honest and open cooperation in the interest and for the benefit of our people," and that "openness is required" for "Romania to join Europe." In this context he emphasizes that "we do not live in a closed society," but a society "progressing toward prosperity and a better standard of living."

In connection with "social injustice," he says that "we have to openly admit that the FSN did not assume responsibility in time, because there are problems which were not solved and the FSN had to resort to force and courage." To this he adds: "These are things that can no longer be tolerated. I am not talking only about corruption, but there are things that vex us." He continues, saying: "We have not succeeded in condemning the communist leadership, the Securitate leadership, and the police leadership, who were blindly bowing to the dictatorship, which ruined our country and starved our people." The crowd reacts with further chants.

Roman then says: "Considerable responsibility rests on these people, not for what they did in a minute, an hour, or a day, but for what they did for years on end for the most shameless and monstrous dictatorship. They have to be accused and sentenced by the justice bodies for adhering to that dictatorship." "We, who have broken with the communist dictatorship of the former regime, have to demand this." This statement is followed by chants of "Down with communism."

He then stresses that "we are convinced that the FSN—as the political and executive power—has nothing to hide from the nation"; it "has not been involved in actions we have to be ashamed of and directed against individuals, citizens, and social groups. We, therefore, are at the helm of this action to improve the social climate."

Roman then recalls that the FSN "was born in the revolution and represents what the December revolution wanted to achieve." "Therefore," he says, "we have no complexes or weakness." On the contrary, "we are stronger than ever before." The latter statement is made with a raised voice and is followed by more chants.

Concluding, Roman emphasizes: "No one should have illusions that the FSN is not involved in the process under way in Romania." "It is the bearer of this positive ideal. It is the one that can bring about a fundamental change in Romanian society" as it did "then, on 22 December 1989, and now, on 22 December 1990." Roman's speech is followed by chants of "The Front."

After Roman's speech, the FSN proclamation of that organization's future line of action is read.

Civic Alliance Organizes Rally in Sibiu 30 Nov

AU0112105090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0737 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/12/1990—A rally of the Sibiu Civic Alliance took place in that city on Friday [30 Nov], followed by a march in the main thoroughfares of the city, participated in by a few thousands citizens.

A statement to the Romanian Government and Parliament was read out at the close of the rally. The statement is critical of the whole Romanian social system from the revolution to the day.

Slogans were shouted against the government, the president and the Parliament.

Civic Alliance Urged To Recognize Free Elections

AU0312134090 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 28 Nov 90 p 1

[Valeriu Cristea article: "A Suggestion"]

[Excerpts] To become truly credible, the Civic Alliance—the last born of an opposition that is nervously changing in the process of seeking the most effective form of action (the recent "needle" proposes not only to prick, but to kill the current power)—in turn, has to clearly state that it views free elections as the only way whereby one can accede to power in Romania. [passage omitted]

If it will not do so and if it will not accept the rules of democracy—which it promotes, as it assures us—then it will leave the fatal (for it) impression that it actually pursues nothing but the immediate seizure of power at all costs and by all means, including nondemocratic means, such as instance street pressure. Street pressure in a country in which free elections have taken place cannot constitute a decisionmaking political factor. One demonstration, several demonstrations, do not refute what ballot boxes decided (until the next elections). A demonstration expresses the will of the participants in that demonstration. We, however, must also bear in mind the will of nonparticipants—who are always an infinitely larger number. The aim of demonstrations can only be to reorientate and to influence public opinion and by no means to question what the electorate decided for a certain interval of time. We, therefore, expect the Civic Alliance to firmly distance itself from the Jesuit precept "the end justifies the means," a precept which caused only tragedy every time it was applied in history; furthermore, we expect the Civic Alliance to adhere solemnly to the principles of a democratic and civilized struggle for power. Had the Alliance the civic courage to make this absolutely necessary statement, tension in our country would lessen considerably, the atmosphere of political debates would improve a great deal and would really become more European. Thus: YES to honest opposition; let it prepare and win the next elections, if it can; NO to an opposition which actually hides a Ceausescu-like thirst for power ready to do anything to quell it instantly "in one gulp." In conclusion, what else can we wish it than: Opposition, be honest!

Leading Ecologist on Economic, Political Crisis

AU0312193090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1651 GMT 3 Dec 90

["Interviews-Statements: 'We Must Understand That Economy and Democracy Are Twins'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1990—The president of the Ecologist Movement of Romania, Mr. Toma George Maiorescu, opined in an interview with a ROMPRES editor that "Romania is now going through a deep economic, political and moral crisis," underlining that, in his opinion, a market economy couldn't be achieved "without massive capital investment and substantial credits."

"A modern policy," Mr. T.G. Maiorescu said, "cannot be made through moving appeals to understanding and blatantly patriotic demagogy, but through an accurate evaluation of resources and vigorous search for a possible strategy." Further pointing out that Romania should, in order to have itself included in the world circuit of material and spiritual values, solve the "credibility problem," the leader of the Ecologist Movement said: "What we need, besides telling the truth about the political and economic situation of our country, is to defuse social and ethnical tension." Mentioning among other things that one of the "priorities for the next interval should be to fight for the citizens' social security, since, when people live well, it means all parts of the society are performing well," Mr. Toma George Maiorescu specified: "It is highly necessary for Romania to come out of its isolation not only because we are on the brim of economic collapse, but also because the civilized world today has turned to one single goal: a Europe united in democracy."

Referring to the creation of the Socialist Party of Labour, the Romanian Ecologist Movement president said: "We believe that in a genuine democracy one is not allowed to

use force in fighting an opponent even when the latter is preaching an ideology that goes against democracy." "But we don't know whether such a party, continuing a bloodstained and dishonourable tradition which brought about Romania's disaster and promoted an exterminating policy against the Romanian people, even if it has legally entered the country's political life, can still be viable." For that reason, Mr. T.G. Maiorescu underlined, "I think it would be unfair to give back to that party assets gained by means deemed as immoral in any democracy."

The president of the Ecologist Movement of Romania concluded: "Even if some obscure forces secretly or openly conspiring against Romania's advance toward a Europe united in democracy may use the Socialist Party of Labour as a new catalyst, the young, democratic, antitotalitarian forces of Romania are strong enough to completely dismantle the communist mechanism with all its mortifying social, political and economic structures."

Ecological Party Sees PCR's Right To Exist

AU3011204490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2029 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—The Ecological Movement of Romania released a communique on the disputed appearance of the Socialist Party of Labor, saying that a real democracy cannot resort to prohibitive means, in opposing an adversary even if its ideology runs counter to democracy. We haven't got the moral right, adds the communique, to make use of the methods of strength and dictate, to repeat on purpose what we disavow in fact, even if the re-surfacing of the [Romanian] Communist Party [PCR] under a different name can be an act of moral defiance or a threat for the spirit of the Romanian revolution, for the young and frail institutions of the Romanian democracy.

That's why, on behalf of pluralist democracy, which communism opposed along history, stresses the communique, we recognize the right to existence of the new party, just like of any other party, on (the moral) condition that it starts with means similar to those of any other party, without taking profit of a material heritage, which would be counter to any elementary ethical principle.

Severin on Need To Reorganize Prosecutor's Office

AU3011114390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1111 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/11/1990—It is high time we reorganized the Prosecutor's Office according to a new formula in compliance with the principles of a state of law, with the principles of the pluralist democracy we intend to establish in our country, Minister Adrian Severin, assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with Parliament, told Radio Bucharest. For that reason, he said, in the ministries' bill, besides dealing with the organization of the Prosecutor's Office from all points of view, its place in the state administration system, its merger or integration with the Ministry of Justice, we have found fit to provide for control from the Ministry of Justice which will appoint prosecutors and coordinate their activity. The bill on the organization of the judiciary which the government submitted to parliament long ago, will go further and stipulate the integration of the Prosecutor's Office as a department of the Ministry of Justice.

Like in all civilized countries, prosecutors are agents of executive power in the judiciary and represent the executive's natural and fundamental interest that the legal framework within which they operate be observed. That is the philosophy underlying the text of law that has been surprisingly disputed by the Prosecutor's Office, by the nomenklatura of the Prosecutor's Office, in a last attempt to block our progress toward democracy, Mr. Adrian Severin said.

Government's Indifference to Problems Criticized

AU2911162390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25/26 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Petre Mihai Bacanu article: "The Indifference of Those in Power"]

[Text] On 15 November the "Civic Alliance" tried to hand a proclamation to those in power. The delegation, which had emerged from the crowd of hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, was not received by the government. It was as simple as that. Those in power did not react in any way, not even in the interest of their own self-respect; they acted simply out of indifference and total lack of interest in the extra-parliamentary opposition.

Ceausescu did not react to criticism coming from within the country; he pretended not to hear it. It was the Securitate that reacted to criticism within the country. True, now one is able to voice one's opinion without being afraid of the Securitate, but it is useless to expect a response to the effort of formulating views and asking questions; furthermore, there is always the risk of being referred to as "a certain press." Those in power have reacted with indifference to all questions. For those who use them skillfully, the instruments of indifference rely on the great patience of the Romanians. Indifference to everything that is happening in our country has become a second state policy; this seems to be an incurable sickness. The charm and smile of those who avoid questions are not enough to alleviate the worries of our people. All day long those in power appear on television; however, they do not provide the answers expected by the whole nation. We watch nothing else but their ability to eschew the subject and their skill to circumvent the truth. Those in power do not see things as they are and they by no means respect people's inclination to have doubts. The indifference of those in power to the questions asked daily by the press does not mean anything other than minimizing the real problems of those who

catapulted the government to the top of the pyramid, questions which become even more pressing if they are ignored. The glory of those in power, whatever it amounts to, was based on the means they made use of to achieve it: Promises. Promises which have not been met. What about the indifference toward people's questions? What is the budget? What are our debts? What happened to the assets of the Romanian Communist Party? What are the conclusions drawn by the investigation commissions? Who were the terrorists? And so on and so forth.

The press carried questions in connection with the affair "Le President." How do you think the responsible people reacted to them? They made the French businessman, who came from Toulouse with a recommendation, appear on television and speak to us for about 10 minutes during the "Current Events" program about how honest the affair is. Do note: 10 minutes for a bankrupt individual of Europe, while the opposition is not granted one minute for its communiques. Then there is the affair of apartments at the seashore which are sold for a farthing. Another representative of the same company also appeared during the "Current Events" program to explain to us how great it will be for the Romanians who will labor on these construction sites and for the state to sell the apartments to others, coming from elsewhere, for two month's Western salary. This deceptive mirror which has become television is also an instrument of indifference to questions.

Those in power have been making mistakes for too long; sometimes they can be excused. What about the indifference? Indifference to the people's doubts and to their questions is more serious than a locust invasion. It is very likely that indifference is afraid of the truth. Indifference is indignant about the truth, but not about lies and injustice, but those who are indifferent make an exception.

Through indifference toward answering questions, those in power do nothing but deceive the hopes of this nation. Those in power do nothing but prove that they are as crafty as Ceausescu. To answer the questions asked by those who have put you on the top is a sign of wisdom. It is wiser to judge yourself than to judge others. Not to be indifferent to criticism against you is wiser than to be flattered by the praise of those who are able to betray you the moment they find someone else with greater chances who is even more easily flattered. Indifference is genuine disregard for your fellow beings.

The show must go on, no matter what happens. A rock erodes if you rub it constantly, but the indifference of those in power does not. Persistence in showing indifference becomes chronic. Volitional indifference has been learned from Ceausescu, who ignored any criticism, but persevered in having the followers of the Securitate suppress it. Those who run away from the truth that has to be voiced prefer indifference. It is dangerous for indifference to seep into our awareness. Indifference toward everything that has to be known is, in fact, an attempt to hide ugliness. This type of indifference, which is coupled by numerous instances of injustice against the many in our country, will make the broad masses have reservations toward those at the top.

Otherwise, I am waiting for Mr. Iliescu to accept a live televised interview during prime time.

Iliescu Statement at 3 Dec Diaspora Meeting

AU0312215590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Excerpt] This evening, President Ion Iliescu met with a large group of people representing the Romanian diaspora, who were invited by the Romania Cultural Foundation to visit the country and to participate in festivities devoted to 1 December, Romania's national day. On this occasion, the sides conducted a frank, informal, and direct dialogue. Our reporters interviewed President Ion Iliescu as well as Professor Titus Podea from the United States, well-known economist Anghel Rugina, and the writer Virgil Tanase.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Esteemed Mr. President, today you had very long, but very interesting meeting with the Romanian diaspora. Will you please say a few words for our listeners and for the Romanian press.

[Iliescu] At the invitation of the Romanian Cultural Association and its president Buzura, several prestigious figures of the Romanian diaspora—from Europe and the United States—were invited here to attend festivities devoted to the national day. This, therefore, was a happy occasion—that is, their presence at these festivities. We met with 40 such people—personalities present at these festivities in Romania—this afternoon.

As you could see, because you were present at the meeting, we had a frank, friendly, sincere, and informal dialogue. We also brought up some critical aspects as well various questions, worries, and concerns. I believe this dialogue was mutually advantageous; we wanted to know the opinions, ideas, and concerns of Romanian communities in various countries, and they wanted to conduct a dialogue and receive answers to a number of questions, anxieties, and thoughts about what they saw in our country.

I believe this was a good thing and we should continue this kind of dialogue, because I noted that the Romanians, no matter where they live, still have their heart and soul attached to the country. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Ploiesti Students' Strike Halts Institute's Activity

AU3011200590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1942 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—The students of the Petrol and Gas Institute in Ploiesti staged a meeting followed by a strike, which paralized the activity of this institute of higher education. The students claims

were social-administrative and professional. During the talks between representatives of the rector, the dean, the students, and the prefecture, proposals and solutions were put forth, so that part of the claims could be met.

Joint Parliament Session To Be Held 6 Dec

AU0312214090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2059 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1990—On Monday, December 3, Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu opened the plenum meeting informing that on Thursday, December 6, the two chambers of the Parliament would hold a joint session to hear the report of the commission inquiring into the Tirgu Mures incidents. Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu also informed that this week, in an emergency procedure, the Senate would debate a bill on the granting of certain rights to the December 1989 revolution victims.

The Senate agreed to hear on Tuesday, December 4, well-known Romanian scientist Anghel Rugina's outlook on the reforms programme now going on in Romania.

The Senate then adopted the bill on settling collective work conflicts.

Mr. Liviu Gherman, vice president of the Senate, informed about his participation in the works of the NATO political commission, recently concluded in London, pointing out inter alia that in the near future Romania would become an associate member of NATO, together with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the USSR.

* Report on Civic Alliance Press Conference

91P20037A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Sorin Rosca-Stanescu article]

[Text] As we mentioned in our paper yesterday, there was a press conference of the Civic Alliance (AC) on 8 November in Hotel Bucuresti, attended by hundreds of intellectuals, persons from other professions and Romanian and foreign journalists. It was expected that the Civic Alliance—the first structure of this type in Romania which proposes to reunite all extraparliamentary forces and forces outside the political parties in the struggle against all forms of totalitarianism, for the creation of democratic institutions which would guarantee the freedom of citizens and respect for the basic human rights—would arouse lively discussions. The discussions dealt with, to a great extent, the delimitation of the Civic Alliance in regard to the concept of a political party and the stipulation of the specific forms of action of organizations and citizens united in this democratic forum. Octavian Paler, Ana Blandiana, Mihai Sora, Stelian Tanase, Petre Mihai Bacanu, Gabriel Andreescu, and Iulian Cornateanu responded to the questions. The opening speech was given by Mihai Sora who said, among other things: "The state government which is operating by means of old structures, in a direction which is endangering democracy, has made us look for a formula for becoming aware of our own mission. The Civic Alliance will permit all trends and movements in civil society, whose real ideal is the introduction of democracy at all levels of existence, to develop in a framework of united action. We had extensive and searching discussions before we arrived at this solution."

Interaction Between Political Groups—A Flexible Model?

"The Civic Alliance is organized by branches. There is a close collaboration of those elected to the future congress of the Civic Alliance. We will refuse to fight against totalitarian practices by using totalitarian methods; we will oppose them with new, democratic structures. We will organize those actions which political events in Romania necessitate. At present, there is an established structure which has a decisionmaking mechanism. Soon, we will publish the statute for the information of all the citizens of the country." (Stelian Tanase)

"These organizations or associations are groups which collaborate within the Civic Alliance, on the basis of a preliminary agreement. With the exception of the founding members, AC membership will be, in general, individual. In light of the provocations, it is important that there be monitoring of the formation of decisionmaking structures. Elections will take place soon after the formation of the branches. The Alliance for the Timisoara Proclamation appeared at an especially tense moment and its failure was a result of its manner of organization—it was based on group membership rather than individual membership. The Civic Alliance, in contrast to the Alliance for the Timisoara Proclamation, will have a firm structure which will involve the component organizations. The independent newspapers and, we hope, the future independent television channel Continental—and perhaps even the existing television channel—as well as the component organizations will be means by which we will provide real responses to a society which no longer allows itself to take refuge in palliatives." (Gabriel Andreescu)

"There are millions of people who do not want to join parties. They form a gigantic force which will be organized so that it can manifest itself in a civic area which, of course, will not be an apolitical area. The Alliance will be a link between associations and people. It will be their area of cooperation." (Iulian Cornateanu)

The Means Which the AC Has To Achieve Its Goal

"Obviously, we will use the same means which every civil force in Europe uses. Everything will be 'out in the open.' First of all, we will utilize correct information, by means of the independent press and the future Continental TV channel. According to the circumstances we will organize assemblies, meetings, marches, demonstrations, and symposiums, that is all the forms of notification and exerting pressure available to a democratic

society. Although the option is an individual one we are not ruling out the possibility of the membership of entire organizations in the AC. We do not propose to transform ourselves into a political party. The AC is a forum with no party affiliation.The AC will propose its own candidates only if the opposition parties are not capable of providing an alternative." (Petre Mihai Bacanu)

The Civic Alliance and the Political Police

Responding to questions of the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA regarding the need for the immediate dissolution of the political police in Romania, as was done in the other former socialist states (we know that it was not the governments which did this but the citizens themselves, organized into committees), Petre Mihai Bacanu and Gabriel Andreescu said: "Yes, the AC will fight for the dissolution of the political police. It is harder to dissolve what was put in place after 22 December. We are witnessing a counterrevolution. If things continue, in a few months it might be that we will no longer be able to put up resistance to the totalitarian structures which operate with the same impertinence and shamelessness. We will counter them with nonviolence, an appeal for moderation and for rising above all extremist manifestations. We not only must escape from our old diseases but we must also put something in their place. That something will be an alternative society."

The Block of Ice and the Waves of Slush

"The Civic Alliance should have been in existence for the past 10 years. The AC must occupy a position which has existed for the past 10 years in Czechoslovakia and other countries. It is late but not too late. I hope that the extraordinary speed imprinted upon history will help us to make up for this delay for which we are responsible. The AC exists for those people who do not want to join political parties but who are obliged to deal with politics. It seems to me that we have lived for almost half a century in a block of ice with firm bounds and our first aim was to survive. It was impossible for us to fight. In the heat of December this block of ice melted. Then we were roughly swept by a wave of slush. We were huddled together, countering lies and corruption with lucidity and frankness. I believe that even those people who, because of lack of information and understanding, are against us, will be with us to the extent to which they prefer the truth to lies and want Romania to emerge from the nightmare." (Ana Blandiana)

Octavian Radulescu, who was present at the press conference, made a longer statement saying that "the Romanian people have never been subjugated. We fought by means of the 2,100,000 political prisoners. The events of 16 December did not occur by chance. The Revolution is the result of this vein of Romanian love preserved by political prisoners who are determined to make more sacrifices if this is necessary." In conclusion, Octavian Radulescu asked for more details about the involvement of the AC in politics. "Basically, everything we do is politics. But our alliance is of a civic nature. Only under conditions in which there is no alternative will we assume political responsibilities." (Petre Mihai Bacanu)

"If politics means to be a slave to circumstances, we are not politicians. However, we reject neutrality. To be indifferent actually means to participate—to participate through indifference. In this sense, we are politicians. Politics means more than a power struggle. We do not have political ambitions but we have political ideas. A political party emphasizes the regimentation of its members. We are emphasizing the creation of solidarity among people. Let us not forget that the Polish Solidarity is not a party, nor is the Czechoslovak [Civic] Forum. But both have played an essential role. Moreover, the parties in Romania have made a number of mistakes which caution us to be careful." (Octavian Paler)

Is There an Economic Reform?

"We must speak bluntly: The so-called liberalization of prices only makes living more expensive; in no way is it an instrument of economic reform. Economic reform will have to begin with the resolution of the problem of ownership, only by a massive program of privatization. There are no political factors supported by the political will to produce a reform. Let us not forget that the National Salvation Front is supported by the most conservative forces of the country. The cry: 'We are not selling the country!' is illustrative. In regard to the alternative programs for reform, we start with the idea that, in Romania, a thorough preliminary study is necessary. The government is not the only one responsible for everything which has happened. The opposition, which has not proposed any alternative, is also responsible." (Stelian Tanase)

The Power of Sacrifice

"The Civic Alliance wants, to use a metaphor, to build the stadium. I am thinking about those who must know both how to applaud and how to express their disapproval, when necessary, and how to go into the arena. Derailments of the government, derailments of the parties are due to a fragile civic awareness. Our aim is to consolidate the civic awareness and to organize prompt reactions to deviations on the part of the government. Therefore, we are building a stadium which will surround the arena of the politician. More or less, the entire population is obliged to reflect on the neeed for this alternative. For a time, each one of us will sacrifice his inclinations so that we can save ourselves." (Sorin Dumitrescu)

Our Immediate Program

"During the coming days, territorial branches and commissions for certain issues will be established. An entire information system will be created and will help us to give a response to all the problems which Romanian society raises. We will discover and take apart the entire mechanism which falsifies the public reception of the measures taken by the government. It is clear that no one in Romania understands what is happening. Some

people have become indifferent, others yell antigovernment slogans in the rain, flayed by the public organs. A capital which lives its life in this way is exposed to chaos. The Civic Alliance is trying to polarize the availability of the street, for interrupting a speech. This is how the Revolution began: by the interruption of a speech. Ceausescu was the result of a system in which many people who are still at the levers of command worked. A country in which the truth was camouflaged cannot have the strength to work. Everyone knows that the truth is hidden and people do not stay in the factories just as artists do not stay in their studios. During the time of the Hetaeria [the 1821 revolution of the Greeks against the Turks], the monks left Mt. Athos. People have received courage which no one can repress any longer. We will propose solutions for organizing these people in a democratic manner." (Petre Mihai Bacanu)

P.S.: Once again, ROMANIA MARE was interesting. The representative of this weekly (a twin, in its extremism, to SFINTA COROANA [The Holy Crown] in Hungary, which went from 50,000 copies to 5,000) tried to provoke an incident at the press conference. The reponse was laughter and applause. Buffoons have a role to play in history. In a postscript.

Current Economic Situation Analyzed

AU0312181590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Nov p 7

[Dumitru Augustin Doman article: "Our Daily Mess"]

[Text] A certain character in the literary work of Preda [Romanian writer] would call the social, political, and economic decay in our country a mess. We are a country used to all the shortcomings that can possibly exist in a society.

The written and unwritten laws—of common sense—have been set only for one reason: to be violated. Impudence, cunning, and force are the only governing laws.

Lying has always been and continues to be a state policy. People are divided into two categories as far as this situation is concerned: one category cannot swallow more lies, while the other resigns itself to the rule of lies, gets used to it, and accepts it. The result can be seen with the naked eye: it is a mess.

Theft can be seen in all areas and at all levels. Everything is being stolen, from needles to private automobiles; even tanks are being stolen. We became the nation with the highest percentage of professional thieves.

Cold-blooded murders are committed for robbery, or out of sheer sadism, drunkenness, or stupidity. A person's life is not worth a great deal anymore. The law of the jungle seems to be definitely established.

Peasants leave their fields to the complete mercy of weeds and go to steal from the their neighbor or from the Agricultural Production Cooperatives which although bankrupt, have not yet been dismantled. Some workers sleep during working hours and wake up only to start a strike.

Industrial or railway accidents come one after the other. The cold water does not reach the tap anymore, it flows freely and floods the streets. Our daily bread has ceased being "daily." The garbage is not taken to refuse dumps anymore and towns tend to become refuse pits themselves. Clerks do not serve their clients anymore without bribery. Profiteering is flourishing and it is the only operating trade, even if prices are inaccessible. There are people who, today, are shouting during demonstrations "We do not sell our country" and tomorrow they travel to Istanbul to sell china vases, ball bearings, and suits for next to nothing.

People are fighting blindly for a position as head of a working team, director, mayor, prefect, or minister. There are no scruples in this battle.

A number of opportunists, impostors, and people formerly sentenced for petty crimes entered the Parliament. Hatred, accusations, and calumny are means for carrying out polemics in the press. Famous opportunists—rivals during Ceausescu's time—have reconciled, regrouped themselves, and have become extremely aggressive.

The political struggle is either disloyal or not serious. There are 108 parties which keep splitting up or merging, most of the time according to petty interests. The struggle for the position of head of the party in most cases is waged shamelessly in front of the whole country.

Private initiative is compromised by a few dubious characters who want to get rich overnight.

Moral value means nothing in any area. In the 11 months that have passed since the revolution, I have not seen any high dignitary resigning after being caught telling blatant lies, at being involved in a penal case or in any instances involving professional theft, manslaughter, or swindling.

On the other hand, there is great joy at the highest level because there is tranquility throughout the country; furthermore, this tranquility is familiar to us. There is talk—in the well-known "wooden" language—of democratic openings, of a transition to market economy, of Romania's joining Europe, and so on.

It is obvious that as long as the individual's moral integrity is not a criteria for promotion, the mass confusion will continue to exist.

Veterans Call For Defense Minister's Demotion

AU0312122990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Nov 90 p 2

[Stefan Cucu, President of the Romanian League of War Veterans note: "For Dishonoring Deeds"]

[Text] We ask for the immediate demotion of the Minister of National Defense Colonel General Victor Stanculescu for the following reasons:

—He is one of those most guilty for the genocide in Timisoara and Bucharest;

—This general's inconsistency culminated in a feigned accident and in having his leg put in a cast instead of arresting the tyrant; furthermore, he facilitated the tyrant's fleeing;

—He promoted people to the leadership of the Defense Ministry who were incompetent but faithful to the communist regime, as well as his personal servants who are supporting him in hiding the truth about the crimes committed on 16-22 December 1989, and hampered the legal bodies in fulfilling their duty;

—He is guilty of withdrawing the Army from Bucharest on 14 June 1990 at 03:00, when the Army restored calm, with the clear intention not to ensure the protection of people and institutions ("certain" institutions, party headquarters) thus freeing the way for the barbarian actions of miners and allowing them to beat up our brothers and sisters in Bucharest. The Army would not have allowed our families to be harmed by miners.

—He is guilty of flagrantly violating the laws of the country and of violating the military's rules by housing, providing equipment, and feeding the miners (at whose expense?!) in military units in Bucharest;

—He is guilty of organizing and leading the miners. What would have happen if he had distributed weapons and bullets to the miners? The war veterans and, we believe, the Army, too, dissociate themselves from those actions which obviously compromise the Army.

For all these dishonorable deeds and very serious actions through which the whole nation has been offended, we request the immediate demotion of Colonel General Victor Stanculescu from the office of minister of national defense.

We suggest that a moral court of the revolution should be set up and that it should bring to trial all whose who are guilty of the economic disaster into which we were thrown by the communist regime. We demand full compensation for victims throughout the country. All those who caused material, moral, and physical damage to Romanians should be brought to trial.

Thus help us God.
The president of the Romanian League of War Veterans
Stefan Cucu

Presidency VP Mesic on 'Political Crisis'

LD0312185390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Report on interview with SFRY Vice President Stipe Mesic by Vojo Lukic; place and date not given]

[Text] Zagreb, 3 December (TANJUG)—Stipe Mesic, vice-president of the SFRY Presidency, in a conversation with the Zagreb weekly, 'VIKEND,' discussing the political crisis in Yugoslavia, stressed: "Let us sit down immediately at the negotiating table and settle our outstanding accounts so we may start with a clean slate, bury our dead once and for all, stop accusing each other, and say that we are for the 21st century. We believe, and I personally think, that a confederal model facilitates this situation. Others think in federal terms. Let us all now discuss this equally, without duress and diktats, while there are still opportunities."

Regarding the work of the SFRY Presidency, Mesic stressed that he believes that members of the SFRY Presidency must have the right to autonomy in their work, too, because it is impossible to run continuously to the telephone and ask what headquarters is thinking. 'VIKEND' reports that the members of the SFRY Presidency have also been talking about the climate for work and the character of mutual communication and have concluded that this mutual relationship should be open, so that everyone in fact sets his own stance, confronts others with it, and reaches agreements, so that what they conclude together, they implement together.

In his talks with journalist Vojo Lukic, Mesic also says: "In the republic it was most important to promulgate the republican Constitution and laws, within the confines of federal law, so that the interests of this republic might best be preserved. Here we have a number of interests, and we should preserve and defend the interests of our own republic, but we should see them also in relation to the interests of others and of the world. It is only then that something worked out in common can be arrived at."

I consider myself an orthodox democrat, Mesic stressed. What I seek for Croats I also seek for all others. I am pragmatic in this. I am not in favor of us saying: "All Croats, regardless of where they are, must be in one state. Because then I must ask: What about the Serbs, what about the Muslims, and our other nations and nationalities...When we place all this in one relationship, we arrive at true solutions."

Replying to a question about his family during the war, about which there had been various "accusations" prior to his election to the Presidency, Mesic says: "All my family on my father's side were in the partisans. No one was even mobilized into the Home Guard [Domobrane]. My father and also five of his brothers and sisters joined the partisans in 1941, and they were communists even before the war. Eleven members of the Mesic family were killed during the war on the side of the partisans. On my mother's side, I am from the Pernar family, and they were again all supporters of the Croatian Peasants' Party. I was brought up so that I confronted both one and the other viewpoint, so I am probably therefore somewhere in the middle."

[Belgrade TANJUG in English at 1636 GMT on 3 December adds in a similar report, datelined Zagreb: "Yugoslav State Presidency Vice-President Stipe Mesic in an interview has urged the negotiating sides in the country to approach the table and, without pressures or dictators "while there is still a chance," to reach an agreement on the future organization of the state.

"Mesic who has recently become a representative of Croatia in the country's eight-member collective Presidency, told the Zagreb weekly VIKEND that both he and the Croatian leadership share the stand that a confederal model is the most appropriate for Yugoslavia, as opposed to those who prefer a Federation.

"Commenting the work of the collective Federal body, which he should head as of May 15 next year, Mesic said that the Presidency members should practice autonomy in their work and not consult the republics they represent for every question. He cited that the Presidency members have also agreed to openly set out their stands, compare them and reach accord, and to implement to the letter that on which they reach agreement."]

Tudjman Criticizes Kadijevic Interview

LD0412000390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1955 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, Titograd, December 3 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tudjman has sharply attacked a recent interview by Yugoslav Defence Secretary General Veljko Kadijevic.

At a press conference in Zagreb today, Dr. Tudjman reminded General Kadijevic that the supreme commander of Yugoslavia's Armed Forces is the collective state Presidency and that "generals have to obey, not decide what the Army should do."

The Croatian president—himself Tito's wartime partisan who was later promoted general—sharply criticized General Kadijevic for "trying to influence the social-political trends in Yugoslavia."

Dr Tudjman asked that the armed forces be depoliticalized. He denounced the recent formation of a new communist party, the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, said to be relying on the military.

Dr. Tudjman claimed that depoliticalization of the armed forces was discussed at a meeting in Zagreb on November 29 which was attended, besides himself, by President of the Republic of Slovenia Milan Kucan and Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic. Markovic was quoted by Tudjman as saying that his government had

asked already last summer that the administration of the armed forces and the forces themselves should be depoliticalized.

Since last spring, when Slovenia and Croatia held multiparty elections and got nonparty governments, the two republics have insisted on the confederal organization of Yugoslavia. Slovenia has also decided to hold a plebiscite on independence.

In the interview, broadcast on TV and radio yesterday evening and published today, General Kadijevic said that nobody can destroy Yugoslavia and that any attempt to do so, from inside or from outside, will be prevented.

Speaking in Titograd today, Montenegrin communist leader Momir Bulatovic said that General Kadijevic's interview "shows the Yugoslav Army's determination to be an active participant in protecting constitutionality and legality in Yugoslavia."

Bulatovic said that the situation in Yugoslavia was "on the brink of undemocratic solutions," adding that "it would be best if force is used by he who knows how to do it and who has legal powers to do so."

The first postwar multiparty elections in Montenegro and Serbia, the two most eager advocates of the Federal organization of Yugoslavia, will be held on December 9. Parties of national, non-communist orientation have won such elections already held in the other Yugoslav republics.

Fifty-Three Parties Competing in Serbian Elections

AU0312150390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Momcilo Boskovic report]

[Text] At the news conference of the Serbian republican Electoral Commission that is currently under way, its spokesman Zoran Djujic informed the press and radio and television journalists about the final list of the registered political organizations that will take part in the multiparty elections in Serbia scheduled for 9 December.

The total number of parties taking part in the elections is 53. The number of people standing as candidates for people's deputies is 1,653. The Socialist Party of Serbia has the greatest number of candidates, 247; the Serbian Renewal Movement, 227; the Democratic Party, 168; the People's Radical Party, 87; the Alliance of Reform Forces for Vojvodina, 40; the Alliance of Reform Forces for Serbia, 32; the Serbian National Renewal, 52; and so forth.

The republican Electoral Commission does not have any information on the candidates for deputies in 20 constituencies. It is expected that this information will be received by tonight.

Seselj Calls for Referendum on Serbia's Future

LD0412092790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2210 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Nis, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—The Serbian people should decide in a referendum whether Serbia will be a monarchy, a restored kingdom, or a republic, Vojislav Seselj said in Nis when presenting himself as a presidential candidate. The promotion was held this evening in a municipal assembly hall. Presenting his economic program, Seselj stressed that he is in favor of private ownership, something that communists have rejected for decades and called capitalist. In the sphere of culture he will fight for the freedom of creativity and the freedom of the press, and in the sphere of education for a fundamental reform and the return to civilized forms of education as practiced abroad and, at one time, in this country.

Seselj also espoused views of the Chetnik movement, and underscored communism and the Yugoslav idea as the main evil befalling the Serbian people. Seselj also accused the army leaders of, as he put it, threatening to preserve Yugoslavia by force. He warned people not to be duped by the latest statements made by General Kadijevic.

Serbian Group 'Dissatisfied' With Media Coverage

LD0412094190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0250 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 3 (TANJUG)—Six days ahead of the first post-war multi-party elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, the moral code of behaviour was so far signed by 15 of the most influential parties, it was reported by the Serbian opposition association at a news conference today.

The rules of behavior envisage that parties whose deputies will be elected to the republican parliament "demand the adoption of a constitution which would legitimately regulate Serbia's internal order."

The parties which will be represented in the organs of power are obliged to "immediately pass a law on media that will guarantee the autonomy of all media."

Dissatisfied with the coverage of the election campaign, the opposition has over the past month sharply criticized Radio-Television Belgrade and the Belgrade publishing house Politika.

At the demand of a group of a delegates, the republican assembly will re-examine at its next meting the responsibility of the heads of Politika and Radio-Television Belgrade.

A representative of the independent trade union of Belgrade television told today's news conference that a protest rally of television journalists would be organized on the eve of the assembly session on December 6.

The independent trade union of Belgrade television proposed to the opposition an agreement on radio and television's supra-party activity.

Jansa Comments on Kadijevic's Interviewed

AU0312161590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Relja Atanasijevic report on interview with Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa and Veljko Kadijevic; place and date not given]

[Text] Answering the question on what he thought about the claim that the Yugoslav People's Army will disarm the Territorial Defense Forces of Slovenia, Jansa said that this was in fact the continuation of the policy which Veljko Kadijevic started during his visit to some military units in Slovenia. The latest statement of the federal secretary for defense, Jansa said, came at a time when the election campaign in Serbia is at a peak, and when people in Slovenia are supposed to be deciding on a referendum. This represents an attempt to exert pressure for the benefit of Milosevic's party in Serbia, and an attempt to put off as many people as possible in Slovenia from taking part in the referendum on the independence of the republic.

Commenting on the remark that General Staff Chief Blagoje Adzic informed the president of republican Assembly in writing that, on the basis of a decision of the Federal Executive Council, on 10 December, the federal Secretariat for Defense will start taking over the work concerning sending Slovene recruits to the military service, Jansa said: This means that on 10 December the representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army will demand records used for recruiting.

This was followed by another question: Does this mean that Slovenia is not sending a sufficient contingent of recruits? Jansa said that recruiting and the military service are a complex procedure which demands considerable work and preparations, as well as time. In addition, the republican regulations do not allow these records to be passed to anybody else.

Answering the question whether the Territorial Defense Force of Slovenia will put up resistance if an attempt is made to disarm it, Janez Jansa said that he was of the opinion that at present there is nobody who would disarm the Slovene Territorial Defense Force.

Slovene Parties' Plebiscite Agreement

AU0312172390 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 28 Nov 90 pp 1,5

["Exclusive—The Parties' Agreement on the Plebisite—A Decisive Step"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Nov— Regarding the Slovene plebiscite, political parties and all deputies' groups represented in the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia have agreed on the following:

1. The autonomy [osamosvojitev] and independence [neodvisnost] of the Republic of Slovenia represent the basic political orientation and aim of all political parties and groups represented in the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia.

2. The plebiscite is the most democratic form for expressing the human desire to realize this aim. The plebiscite is a legitimate, legal, and peaceful form of self-determination.

3. All political parties and groups bind themselves to act in agreement and cooperation. They will invest all their political influence and standing in the positive outcome of the plebiscite.

4. The plebiscite represents a decisive act of autonomy by the Republic of Slovenia. The process of separation from the SFRY will be carried out and concluded on the basis of a positive outcome of the plebiscite.

5. On the basis of a plebiscitary decision in favor of autonomy and independence, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia is to adopt all the necessary documents and measures to take over the realization of sovereign rights that it had transferred to the SFRY organs and will start negotiations with other republics in the SFRY on setting up future relations on the basis of international law.

6. For preparations for the plebiscite to be carried out successfully, the parties will agree about the Law on the Plebiscite and will adopt it by a two-thirds majority. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia will decide about the date of the plebiscite. The date will be proposed by the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia in cooperation with the president of the Republic of Slovenia.

The elements of the Law on the Plebiscite are as follows:

—the electorate which consists of voters who possess the general right to vote.

—the result of the plebiscite will be positive if more than one half of the electorate turns out and if more than one half of those who turn out vote for it.

(an alternative: however, it should be no fewer than two-fifths of the complete electorate)

7. On the basis of a plebiscitary decision in favor of autonomy, the procedure for separating the Republic of Slovenia from the SFRY will be carried out on a formal and legal level: the adoption of a constitutional document on the execution of the decision made at the plebiscite, a new constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, and a constitutional law on implementing the constitution.

(If possible, one should ask the government for more specific measures).

An Additional Alternative:

The Republic of Slovenia will become an autonomous and independent state on the day the results of the plebiscite are publicized. On that day, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia will adopt the constitutional document on the execution of the decision made at the plebiscite.

8. The realization of sovereign rights that were transferred onto the SFRY will occur simultaneously with building up and establishing the Republic of Slovenia's own institutions. Talks on continuing coexistence with other Yugoslav peoples or republics will be held at the same time. Procedures for Slovenia to be recognized internationally and to join the UN Organization and other world organization will also be carried out.

9. The Republic of Slovenia assures its Italian and Hungarian national communities, as well as all members of other Yugoslav peoples, that their present political status will not be changed due to a plebiscitary decision. They will share our common destiny. The Republic of Slovenia will protect the national communities, and the members of other Yugoslav peoples with permanent residence in Slovenia will be given Slovene citizenship according to the law on citizenship, if they wish to do so.

10. The parties represented in the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia are aware of the historic importance of a plebiscitary decision in favor of autonomy. The success of the plebiscite may only be an integral act of the Slovene people and the citizens of Slovenia. A single party or a coalition would not be able to conduct the plebiscite and would not have any right to do so, and therefore no individual party or a coalition can attribute the success of the plebiscite to itself alone.

All parties represented at the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia can proceed with preparations for the plebiscite if they agree to these conditions.

The parties agree that the decision at the plebiscite can in no way encroach upon the Slovene people's permanent and inalienable right to self-determination.

The work on the new Slovene constitution is a priority task. The parties call on all respective bodies to organize and further the work on coordinating different views and forming coordinated solutions. When it becomes independent and autonomous, the Slovene state must have a new republic constitution as soon as possible.

The parties represented in the parliament will do everything to ensure respect for all parts of the rules of procedure, the thorough verification of various proposals, and the examination of solutions acceptable to the largest number of deputies and parties in the parliament.

Democratic Reform Statement on Slovene Plebiscite

LD0312203690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—Our goal is an independent and sovereign Slovenia as a welcomed and equal partner in negotations on a confederal system and as a factor of peace and coexistence in Europe. Just as they failed to do it when we adopted our constitutional amendments in 1989, threats of weapons and military interventions will not deter us from achieving our goal.

This is stressed in a statement today by the Democratic Reform Party [Stranka Demokratske Prenove (DRP)].

In reference to a plebiscite in Slovenia, the DRP stresses that those who first launched the idea of a plebiscite must ensure that there is no break in economic trends, no drastic fall in the standard of living, no international isolation of Slovenia. The DRP also calls on the organs of the Republic of Slovenia to be better prepared, both economically and politically, for independence and insists that the decision to be reached by the plebiscite cannot be valid unless passed by the majority of votes cast.

Tudjman 'Not Opposed' to Croatian Integration

LD0312184190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said he was not opposed to the possibility that Croatia realize its sovereignty within the Yugoslav community.

At the regular monthly meeting with domestic journalists in Zagreb today, Tudjman said that the draft republican constitution had to secure Croatia's sovereignty.

Tudjman also said he was having another meeting in Celje this week with the president of the neighbouring Republic of Slovenia, Milan Kucan, but did not say whether they would sign a joint document or confederal agreement which both these republics urge.

On proposals that a joint document be signed at the meeting, Tudjman said that "we are inclined to the signing taking place."

The Constitutional Commission of the Croatian Assembly today reviewed the first proposals and comments on the draft republican constitution, set out by deputies on the first day of the four-week public debate. The deputies have had remarks about 53 articles of the 145-article constitution.

A number of remarks relate to the place and role of the preamble to the constitution and the first articles which define Croatia as a "integral and indivisible democratic and social state".

The proposed semi-presidential system and the great powers of the president are still an open question, as well as the settlement of municipalities and communes, equality of nations and nationalities and economic democracy.

The envisaged pace of the public debate and the work of the Constitutional Commission are in accordance with the idea of the Croatian leadership that the new constitution be adopted before the end of the year, probably at the December 27 Assembly session.

Party Leader Explains 2 Dec Markovic Blockade

LD0312174490 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Rarely do party promotions in Montenegro proceed without incidents.

Yesterday in Virpazar, a group of citizens used barricades to prevent federal Prime Minister Markovic from having lunch. Yugoslavia must be defended by democracy, Momir Bulatovic said in reply to Veljko Kadijevic's interview.

Dino Ramovic reports from Titograd:

[Ramovic] Hardly any party promotion in Montenegro, particularly these days when the moment of decision is drawing near, can be held without incidents. Certainly the most serious one took place yesterday, when a group of citizens mounted barricades—using cars—to prevent Prime Minister Ante Markovic from arriving at the 13th July Hotel, where lunch was planned and already prepared. The Federal Executive Committee president, in his capacity as president of the Initiative Committee of Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Yugoslavije], was driving with his usual entourage from Bijelo Polje to Bar. The reformists said today that this was done by supporters of the Communists because shortly before this the leaders of this party, Momir Bulatovic and Milo Djukanovic, drove along the same stretch of road.

In his meeting today with journalists, Momir Bulatovic explained, however, that he had learned that the road near Virpazar might be blocked, so he had gone there to dissuade the villagers from carrying out their intentions. Eventually, this happened.

Bulatovic expressed regret and denied the claims that it was they who staged this. [passage omitted]

Armed Attack on Radio Station in Montenegro

LD0412000190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1852 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Bar, December 3 (TANJUG)—An unidentified man broke into the Radio Bar in Montenegro, southern Adriatic coast, this afternoon shattering several windows by pistol fire before throwing a tear gas bomb into the studio. The programme, the most popular local news chronicle, was interrupted and the staff ran out of the building clouded in tear gas.

An investigation is under way.

Baker Sends Note to Loncar on Nonaligned Role

LD0312163890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—James Baker, the U.S. secretary of State, has sent a message to Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, which was handed to him today by U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmerman. The message refers to the latest development in the gulf crisis, in the wake of the adoption of the UN Security Council resolution allowing the use of force in the implementation of UN decisions concerning the unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from occupied Kuwait.

The message stresses in particular "the constructive and leading role of Yugoslavia," as president of the Nonaligned Movement, in the search for a just solution to the crisis in the gulf. Baker stresses that, with the activity of Yugoslavia, the prospects for resolving the crisis on the principles of the UN Charter and international law have improved significantly. The U.S. secretary of state informed the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs of the U.S. position prior to the heralded meetings between President George Bush and Baker and Iraqi Foreign Affairs Minister Tariq 'Aziz in Washington, as well as of Baker in Baghdad.

During the talks with Ambassador Zimmerman, Loncar expressed satisfaction with the heralded direct talks between Iraq and the United States. Yugoslavia, the federal secretary for foreign affairs stressed, is ready, especially in its funciton as president of the Nonaligned Movement, to play an active role in the search for a just solution to the crisis in the gulf, on the basis of the resolutions of the Security Council, the Nonaligned Movement, and respect for international law.

The visit by Ambassador Milutin Galovic to Baghdad is also serving this Yugoslav orientation. Galovic has had a meeting in Baghdad with Tariq 'Aziz to whom he handed a message from Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar. It has been learned that in the message there is a request on behalf of the Nonaligned Movement that Iraq immediately and unconditionally release all the hostages in Kuwait and Iraq.

The federal secretary for foreign affairs was recently addressed by the ambassadors of all EC countries accredited to Belgrade, and they asked him to make representations to the Iraqi Government for the release of the hostages. During his talks with Ambassador Galovic, Tariq 'Aziz said that the Yugoslav request, in other words Loncar's message, would be considered in Baghdad with "due attention."